THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE LATIN WEST
VOLUME III - PART 1

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EDITORS

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THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE LATIN WEST

Studies in the Ruler Cult
of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire

Volume III: Provincial Cult

Part 1: Institution and Evolution

BY

DUNCAN FISHWICK

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PREFACE

Maarten J. Vermaseren stipulated in his will that, following his decease, no further volumes were to be published in the series *Études preliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain.* By chance the last issue of *EPRO* happened to be *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West,* Vols. I, 1–2 (1987); II, 1 (1991); II, 2 (1992). While not a perfect fit, its inclusion seemed justified in light of the centuries-old practice of ruler cult in first the Greek city-states, later the Hellenistic kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean: in other words the same environment that produced the so-called "oriental" cults of Magna Mater, Isis, Mithras and the rest. In reality, of course, various strands of the ruler cult in the Latin west go back to early Republican Rome, independently of influences from the world of the Greek east.

The third volume of *ICLW* now focuses on ruler cult at the provincial level. I am most grateful to the editors of *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* (*RGRW*), the successor to *EPRO,* for adopting an orphan into a series where the appropriateness of its inclusion can no longer be called into question. Readers will note a change in plan from that announced in the preface to *ICLW* I, 1. My original intention was that Vols. I and II should lead into a third volume providing a synopsis of ruler cult in the western empire with separate fascicules on provincial, municipal, private and military cult; finally Vol. IV would append an essay on the theology of the Roman emperor. How naïvely this under-estimated the enormous range of evidence quickly became clear once work got under way on provincial ruler worship. This in itself has required an individual volume divided into four separate sections on "Institution and Evolution", "The Provincial Priesthood", "The Provincial Centre" and "Provincial Cult", finally an apparatus with Bibliography and Indices (*RGRW,* Vols. 145–8). As a result, Vol. IV will now deal with municipal cult—in how many fascicules is so far unclear but clearly a considerable number even if several provinces are comprised in a single publication. Further down the line still, private and military cult will take up Vols. V and VI, quite possibly subdivided again, with theological problems reserved for Vol. VII. Plainly the scope of project is beyond the capacity of one author—or one lifetime—and I can only hope that other hands will one day bring the whole undertaking to a successful conclusion.

As with Vols. I and II, I am deeply indebted for advice and criticism to a great many colleagues working in different parts of the vast region of the Latin west. Their names are too numerous to mention in a preface but I have acknowleged assistance at appropriate places of the text, in all of which my debt is far greater than might at first sight appear. I would add here only a general thanks to P. Hertz, who kindly allowed me to see a partial version of his forthcoming bibliography on the imperial cult; it goes without saying that the text has greatly benefited from this. Lastly, I should like to thank my wife once again for her continued forbearance during the ten years in which Vols. III, 1–4 with their various offshoots have been in preparation, also the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for generous financial support of field work over the years, and not least the Editor and staff of Brill for patient collaboration during the travail of publication.

Edmonton, 2002

ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the abbreviations listed below, earlier or subsequent volumes in the present work are cited as Vol. I, 1; Vol. I, 2; Vol. II, 1; Vol. III, 2,; Vol. III, 3.

AE	*L'Année épigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine*, Paris, 1888–.
AIJ	Hoffiller V. and Saria B. (eds.), *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien. Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior*, Amsterdam, 1970.
CIL	Mommsen T. *et al.* (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum editum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Regiae Borussicae*, Berlin, 1863–.
CIL	2^2/7 Stylow A. U. *et al.* (eds.), *Conventus Cordubensis*, Berlin, 1995.
CILA	González J. (ed.), *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*, Seville, 1989–91, 1–3.
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, Rome, 1994.
ERAE	García Iglesias L. (ed.), *Epgrafía romana de Augusta Emerita* (Diss. Madrid, Univ. Complutense), Madrid, 1972/73.
ERBC	Canto, A. M. (ed.), *Epigrafía romana de la Beturia Céltica*, Madrid, 1997.
ERI	Canto, A. M. (ed.), *Epigrafía romana de Italica*, Madrid, 1985.
FIRA	Bruns C., Mommsen T., Gradenwitz O., *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*^{7}, Tübingen, 1909.
IAM	Euzennat M., Marion J., Gascou J. (eds.), *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*, Paris, 1966–82, 2.
IDR	Russu I. I. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, Bucharest, 1980, 3, 2.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1903–.
ILA	Maurin L., Thauré M., Tassaux F. (eds.), *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine (I.L.A.)*, Bordeaux, 1994.
ILAfr	Cagnat R., Merlin A., Chatelain L. (eds.), *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)*, Paris, 1923.

ILAlg	Gsell S., Pflaum H.-G. *et al.* (eds.), *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1922, 1–2; 1957, 1; 1976, 2.
ILER	Vives J. (ed.), *Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*, Barcelona, 1971–72, 1–2.
ILGN	Espérandieu É. (ed.)., *Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)*, Paris 1929, 2.
ILIug	Sasel A. and J. (eds.), *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1963.
ILM	Chatelaine L. (ed.), *Inscriptions latines de Maroc*, Paris, 1942, 1.
ILS	Dessau H. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892–1916.
ILTG	Wuilleumier P. (ed.), *Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules* (Gallia suppl. 14), Paris, 1963.
IRCP	D'Encarnação J. (ed.), *Inscrições romanas do Conventus Pacensis*, Coimbra, 1984.
IRScallabis	Custódio J. (ed.), *Inscrições romanas de "Scallabis"* (forthcoming).
IRT	Reynolds J. M., Ward Perkins J. B. (eds.), *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, Rome, 1952.
IScM	Pippidi D. M. *et al.* (eds.), *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*, Bucharest, 1980–, 2: 1, 2, 3, 5.
OLD	Glare P. G. W., *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1968–82.
PECS	Stillwell R. (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton, 1976.
PIR^{2}	Groag E., Stein A., Petersen L., Wachtel K. *et al.* (eds.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Saec. I, II, III*, Berlin, 1933–.
RE	Wissowa G., Kroll E. *et al.* (eds.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1893–.
RIT	Alföldy G. (ed.), *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin, 1975.
RIU	Barkóczi L., Mócsy A. *et al.* (eds.), *Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Budapest, 1972–1991.
RGRW	Drijvers H., van den Broek R., Versnel H. S. (eds.), *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, Leiden, 1992–.
RPC	Burnett A., Amandry M., Pau Ripollès P. (eds.), *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London and Paris, 1992, 1, Parts 1–2.
RSS	Balla L., Buocz T. P., Kádár Z., Mócsy A., Szentléleky T. (eds.), *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, Amsterdam-Budapest, 1971.
ThLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig, 1900–.

LIST OF PLATES

1. *ILTG* 81 (Lugdunum Convenarum). Reconstruction by J.-L. Schenck. Reproduced from A. Badie, R. Sablayrolles, J.-L. Schenk, *Le temple du* forum *et le monument à enceinte circulaire; Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges I* (Études d'archéologie urbaine), Toulouse, 1994, 110. fig. 110.

2. *ILTG* 81, fragment B. Photograph by courtesy of Musée Archéologique Départemental, Saint-Bertrand de Comminges. Cliché Ch. Bozzolan.

3. *ILTG* 81, fragment G. Photograph by courtesy of Musée Archéologique Départemental, Saint-Bertrand de Comminges. Cliché Ch. Bozzolan.

4. *ILTG* 81, fragment A. Photograph by courtesy of Musée Archéologique Départemental, Saint-Bertrand de Comminges. Cliché Ch. Bozzolan.

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8. The archive room of the "Repräsentationshaus" at the city on the Magdalensberg. Photograph by courtesy of Prof. Dr. G. Piccottini, Director of the Landesmuseum für Kärnten, Klagenfurt. Photo V. P. Schwartz, Landesmuseum für Kärnten.

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11. Reconstruction of the temple on the Magdalensberg: second building period. Photograph by courtesy of Prof. Dr. G. Piccottini, Director of the Landesmuseum für Kärnten, Klagenfurt. Photo V. P. Schwartz, Landesmuseum für Kärnten.

12. Plan of Roman Colchester. Reproduced from P. J. Drury, "The Temple of Claudius at Colchester reconsidered", *Britannia* 15 (1984) 9, fig. 1.

13. *CIL* $2^2/7$, 291 (Corduba). Reproduced from *CIL* $2^2/7$, Tab. 12, fig. 1.

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19. *ERAE* 62 (Emerita). Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. L. de la Barrera, Conservador of the Museo Nacional de Arte Romana, Mérida. Photograph Servicio Fotográfico del Museo de Mérida. Now in the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid, Inv. no. 38.377.

20. *IDR* 3/2, 217 (Sarmizegetusa). Reproduced from H. Daicoviciu and I. Piso, "Publius Aelius Antipater" in Pippidi D. M. and Popescu E. (eds.), *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VIIe congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Constance, 1977*, Bucharest, 1977, 76, fig. 1.

BOOK III

INSTITUTION AND EVOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

The defining moment in the development of provincial ruler cult arrived in the winter of 30/29 B.C., when embassies from the *koina* of Asia and Bithynia approached Octavian with an offer of the honours traditionally bestowed on a conqueror who had brought peace and deliverance from ruin (CD 51, 20, 6–7). The details of what was originally proposed are not reported but the language of the sources makes it clear that the initiative came from the provincials, to whom Octavian responded by formulating guidelines for permissible provincial cult. Resident Roman citizens were instructed to worship Roma and Divus Iulius, whereas non-Roman provincials might pay cult to the emperor himself, provided that Dea Roma had her place in the worship (cf. Suet., *Aug.* 52; Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37); in line with the ruling, sacred precints were to be built at Ephesus and Nicaea for Roma and Divus Iulius, at Pergamum and Nicomedia for Roma and Octavian.[1] That these regulations were of Octavian's own making is clear from his emphasis on the cults of Roma and Divus Iulius, neither of whom can have figured in the plans of provincials intent on showing their loyalty to the victor of Actium. In essence the prescription struck a balance between two extremes. Excessive honours would have cost Octavian public support at Rome, yet to accept too little would weaken his authority with the provincials. Carefully crafted though it was, the distinction betwen Roman citizen and alien was nevertheless too finely drawn to last. Once provincials began to receive Roman citizenship the difference inevitably blurred, an outcome that goes far to explaining the meagre record left by the cult of Roma and Divus Iulius. The directive for non-Roman provincials, in contrast, was to be of crucial importance for the later development of provincial ruler cult not only in the east but also in the west.[2]

---

[1] For detailed discussion see Vol. I, 1, 77, 126–30, noting the significance of Roma, whose inclusion alongside Augustus Dio omits to mention. See further Friesen (1993) 7–8 with n. 5 (suggesting that the Asians may have promoted the inclusion of Roma), 10–11, 15, 27. Contrary to Friesen's hesitation, the temple at Pergamum can only have been to Roma and Augustus as it can hardly have been completed and dedicated before Octavian assumed his new name. Clauss (1999) 487–8, doubts that Dio implies Roman citizens were not allowed to erect temples to Augustus, and rejects the testimony of Suet., *Aug.* 52, as contradicted by other literary souces, though confirmed by coins (and inscriptions, it should be added) at Lugdunum (*o.c.* 65–6). On the distinction between the two types of cult Octavian regulated—one allowed, the other required—see below, p. 229 with n. 38.

The Latin provinces presented a radically different environment.[3] In the first place the ideological background that had been in place for centuries in the Greek east was entirely lacking in the west. With faint exceptions there existed no pre-Roman belief in the divinity of the ruler, no trace at all of the cult of Roma. Nor, at a more practical level, was a ready-made administrative framework at hand comparable to the system of eastern *koina*; the western *concilia* are entirely a creation of the imperial period and the imperial regime, their origin directly connected with the installation of a provincial cult. As a result, the conditions were largely lacking that might have produced spontaneous growth of the ruler cult whether at the local or provincial level. On the positive side, in contrast, if in the east Rome had to cope with the difficult challenge of the existing practice of Hellenistic ruler worship, in the west the cult of the Roman emperor could be shaped as policy required. Recent analysis has attempted to see Octavian's regulations at work in the Latin provinces also,[4] yet the surviving evidence reflects little or no correspondence with the conditions laid down in the east. In particular there is no evidence in the west that Roman citizens paid cult to Roma and Divus Iulius at separate precints. In practice the distinction between Roman and non-Roman and the different forms of cult they were originally allowed is non-existent just as surely as it must have evaporated sooner or later in the east (below, p. 230).

---

[2] On the reception of the Imperial Cult in the east see now Brent (1999) 67–72.

[3] Vol. I, 1, 92–3.

[4] Beard–North–Price (1988) 1, 349, 352–5.

CHAPTER ONE

ROMA AND THE LIVING EMPEROR: REGIONAL CULTS (31 B.C. – A.D. 14)

The evolution of provincial ruler cult in the Latin west dates from the first decade or so of the reign of Augustus.[1] Its opening phase saw the establishment of regional centres that in all cases were located in unsettled, barbarian areas where discontent with Roman rule, even open rebellion was a constant threat. As the sources make clear, each and every foundation was established by a Roman commander who in all but one instance was a member of the imperial house; the prominent name is that of Drusus, step-son of Augustus. While the development is uncertain everywhere except at the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum, by the end of the reign a centre for the worship of the emperor, quite possibly in combination with Roma, looks to have been established in north-west Spain, Gallia Comata, Germania and on the Elbe, so, broadly, throughout much of the western empire. Other reported or suspected foundations, notably among the Lingones and at Lugdunum Convenarum, are of debatable status.

The background against which these events unfolded was the cautious introduction into Rome of forms of ruler worship that on the one hand were unavoidable, on the other required careful shaping into structures that would cause the least offence within leading circles of the capital.[2] Hence the cult of the emperor's *genius*, an emphasis on key abstractions, and the promotion of state gods associated with the emperor; only towards the close of his life did Augustus feel secure enough to allow so unrepublican a practice as the cult of his own *numen*.[3] Provincial cult was another matter, for the collective worship of a province needed to follow the ground rules he had already laid down in the east. Only at Lugdunum is the mandatory combination of Augustus with Roma, the abstract embodiment of the state, explicitly documented in the epigraphical and numismatic sources, but everything suggests that strict adherence to official policy will have been the rule at other centres also. If the full details have in most cases escaped record in the sources, the principal characteristic of provincial ruler cult in this initial stage is nevertheless beyond question. The cult of the emperor, the nodal point of the worship, was in every case instituted from above at the instigation of the central regime. In no instance did this occur through spontaneous action of the emperor's subjects.[4]

---

[1] Vol. I. 1, 97–149.

[2] On the republican background see recently Brent (1999) 19–59.

[3] On the general background see Vol. I, 83–92; Brent (1999) 59–67; Clauss (1999) 54–75 (to be used with caution). For the extraordinary claim that Octavian inherited the title of Divus Iulius from Caesar and was paid cult as Divus Augustus already during his lifetime see Clauss (1996) 411–21, 432–3; further *id.* (1999) 57ff. The thesis that the *princeps* was a living god, *deus praesens*, and venerated as *divus* already in his lifetime, *ibid.* (1999) 1ff. and *passim*, is the central fallacy of a book brimming with errors.

Arae Sestianae

The earliest trace of a regional cult in the Latin west is preserved by a series of notices in the literary soures alluding to *arae Sestianae* in northwest Spain.[5] While the whereabouts of these is variously reported in Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 2, 6, 3) and Pomponius Mela (3, 13), the authority of the Elder Pliny must be counted decisive in light of the local knowlege he had acquired as resident procurator of Hither Spain:

> *Celtici cognomine Neri et super Tamarci, quorum in paeninsula tres arae Sestianae Augusto dicatae* ... . (*NH* 4, 111)

Only material relevant to the present enquiry, much of it is taken over from Le Roux (1994) 397–411, receives brief consideration in the following pages, where the bulk of Le Roux's conclusions are rejected. Lack of familiarity with the field explains many of the misconceptions in Le Roux's paper, *a fortiori* their repetition in the book of Clauss (1999); cf. Witschel, Kaiserbildnisse (1995) 362 with n. 71.

[4] The account of Beard–North–Price (1998) 352–3 is inconsistent. The authors state first that: "Recently conquered and 'unRoman' areas established cults like those of the Greek East, to the living emperor". At first sight this seems to suit the theory of a passive emperor in implying spontaneous institution as in Asia, Pontus-Bithynia or Syria, yet a few sentences later the authors confirm that cults in babarian areas, notably Spain, Gallia Comata (the term Tres Galliae becomes current only from the reign of Vespasian), Germany and elsewhere were established by Roman commanders, notably Augustus' step-son, Drusus.

[5] Vol. I, 141–4. For an extensive analysis of the literary sources referring to Noega and the Arae Sestianae see recently Luis (1999), arguing the controversial view that there existed *two* sets of altars: in Asturia and in Callaecia. I am very much indebted to A. M. Canto, who kindly forwarded photocopies of both this article and the new edict of Augustus, together with newspaper accounts of its discovery and material used at a work session of *Hispania Epigraphica*, Madrid, 22 December, 1999.

The location itself, on either Cape Finisterre or Monte Louro,[6] was doubtless of significance for the Roman annexation of the region; at all events Mela reports (3, 11) that a *Turris Augusti*, perhaps the site of the present Torres de Oeste (Catoira),[7] stood beside the river Sars, the present Sar, just south of the *arae Sestianae.* The identity of the Roman commander after whom the altars were named seems at all events clear: L. Sestius Quirinalis Albinianus, who was suffect consul in the summer of 23 B.C. and on the majority view served as governor of Hispania Ulterior between 22 and 19 B.C. If so, he will have set up the altars following Agrippa's subjection of the tribes of the north-west in 19 B.C. at a time when Asturia and Callaecia were still included in the further province. A. Tranoy notes that the contemporary erection of the altars in an area critical to the support of campaigning Roman armies would have fittingly associated the emperor with the conquest of the region. The alternative would be to place Sestius in 16–14 B.C, when there is a gap in the list of imperial legates of Hispania Citerior. In that case his term falls in the period when Asturia and Callaecia had apparently been detached from the further province and joined to the nearer, and the altars will presumably have been erected by Sestius in connection with Augustus' visit to Spain in 16–13 B.C. This would then parallel the foundation of the altar at Lugdunum by Drusus in 12 B.C. following Augustus' stay in Gaul, when he inaugurated the tripartite division of Gallia Comata.[8]

Conclusive evidence in favour of the earlier date looks to be now provided by a new edict of Augustus issued at Narbo Martius on 14–15 February, 15 B.C.[9] Inscribed on a small bronze tablet recently found at Bembibre in north-west Spain, the text (unpublished as yet) is 27 lines long and in the first place confers *immunitas* on the Paemetobrigenses, the occupants of a *castellum*, as a reward for their loyalty to Rome. In addition they are to retain without legal controversy the fields and boundaries they possessed at the time when the mandate of Augustus' legate, L. Sestius Quirinalis, extended to the *Transduriana provincia*, a new term which apparently denotes a specially authorized field of operation within the province of Hispania ulterior. The region lay across the river

---

[6] See in general Tranoy (1981) 327–9, placing the altars on the coast of the *conventus Lucensis* in the region of Cape Finisterre.

[7] Tranoy (1981) 328 with n. 163.

[8] Fishwick (1994) 119–21.

[9] See recently the commentary of Alföldy, *Provincia* (2000) 61–2 with n. 118.

Douro and included the Callaeci, Cantabres and Astures (cf. Strabo 3, 4, 20):

> *Imp(erator) Caesar Divi fil(ius) Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) | VIII et pro co(n)s(ule) dicit | Castellanos Paemetobrigenses ex | gente Susarrorum desciscentibus | ceteris permansisse in officio cog|novi ex omnibus legatis meis qui | Transdurianae provinciae prae|fuerunt itaque eos universos im|munitate perpetua dono quosq(ue) | agros et quibus finibus possede|runt Lucio Sestio Quirinale leg(ato) | meo eam provinciam optinentem (*sic*) | eos agros sine controversia possi|dere iubeo* ...
>
> (lines 1–14)

If the edict is genuine, as all appearances suggest, the fact that it refers to a situation prior to 15 B.C. would seem to place the governorship of Sestius firmly between 22 and 19 B.C as originally supposed.

Whatever their precise situation and date, the *arae Sestianae* show both differences and correspondences with other regional foundations of the period. In the first place this is the only contemporary example of multiple altars and the only known instance of altars named after a Roman commander, a peculiarity presumably to be explained by the fact that the installation of the ruler cult was still at an experimental stage. The nearest parallel would be the Flavian *arae Flaviae* (Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 2, 11, 15) erected in the Decumates Agri of south-west Germany, though in this case an inferred trio of altars would plainly be explained by their dedication to Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.[10] Later foundations are identified either by the cult they served and its location, as at Lugdunum, or by reference to the peoples in whose territory the altar provided a focal point, as at Ara Ubiorum (below, pp. 9–21). In contrast, the Sestian altars are directly in line with other altars of the period in that the literary sources report they were dedicated to Augustus: with Pliny's notice ... *Augusto dicatae* ... may be compared Mela's version ... *et sunt Augusti nomine sacrae* ... .[11] Given the consistent inaccuracy of the authorities in this regard, however, all analogy suggests that the *arae Sestianae* will have served the cult of Roma and Augustus just as did the federal altar at Lugdunum.[12] It is worth repeating that, when the cult of the *conventus* began to be documented in north-west Spain, its priests paid worship to Roma and Augustus. Conceivably this was in line with practice dating back to the Augustan foundation of the *arae Sestianae*,[13] though we have no evidence at all of priests who tended the cult at the Sestian altars.

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[10] Vol. I, 2, 298, noting that the plural form points to Vespasian and his sons. See further below, pp. 145–8.

[11] For Hübner's suggested emendation of Mela ... *Augusti numine* see Vol. I, 1, 144, n. 314 with ref. An altar dedicated to the *numen Augusti* would point to an implausibly early form of a cult found at no other regional altar in the Latin west. The account of Clauss (1999) 402 with n. 74, is confused.

[12] *Contra* Clauss (1999) 397, suggesting that there is no sense in everywhere supposing a cult of Roma and Augustus when only the cult of Augustus is recorded in the literary

As for the fact that three altars are attested, a supposed relation to the presence of three Roman legions stationed at the time in Asturia and Callaecia looks entirely inapproprate:[14] all other altars founded in the Augustan period were established as centres at which the local population could worship the emperor, if formally in combination with Roma. The closest parallel in this respect is the sanctuary at the Confluence, which catered to the combined administrative divisions of Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica. With no comparable federal organization in north-west Spain, the three Sestian altars look rather to have been planned in light of the three *conventus* of Lucus Augusti and Bracara Augusta in Callaecia and Astica Augusta in Asturia, all of which were created under Augustus as their names show. The three altars would in that case have served the people of these three regions just as the single federal sanctuary at the Confluence served the inhabitants of the three parts of Gallia Comata. Tranoy argues essentially the same point in terms of cult centres that reflected the Roman regroupment of the three peoples of the region: Callaeci Lucenses, Callaeci Braceri, Astures.[15]

Ara Romae et Augusti ad confluentes Araris et Rhodani

The key event in the Augustan extension of provincial ruler cult to the Latin West was the establishment of an altar that by all accounts formed the centre-piece of the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum.[16] Like other foundations of the period the monument was evidently designed to serve a region, in this case the vast expanse which had been divided in *ca.* 16–13 B.C. into the administrative units of Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica. The point is confirmed by the circumstance that only

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sources.

[13] Vol. I, 1, 144. See further Tranoy (1981) 329–31 with list of priests of the imperial cult in north-west Spain.

[14] Tranoy (1981) 149 with n. 26 and ref., notes that one of these legions, the *legio IV Macedonica*, was in any case stationed by now in Cantabria.

[15] Tranoy, *o.c. ibid.*, cf. 327.

[16] Vol. I, 1, 97–102.

from the time of Vespasian do inscriptions begin to mention Tres Galliae in this connection; until then the term Gallia Comata continued in regular use.[17] Despite the fact that it eventually served the provinces of the Three Gauls, therefore, the sanctuary located in the *pagus Condate* by the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône is best thought of as in origin the focal point of a regional or, more precisely in this case, a supra-regional cult.

i. The Federal Altar

The physical features of the altar at the Confluence are known in considerable detail thanks to an abundant series of coins which were struck under Augustus and later emperors at the imperial mint at Lugdunum[18] and portray a broad, rectangular block flanked by statues of Victory standing on columns. Whether the structure represented is the altar itself or simply one side of the wall enclosing the altar precinct is a controversy best left for later discussion.[19] On either view the *aes* altar coins make it clear that the monument was embellished with Augustan emblems, the significance and characteristics of which have already been considered in detail: a central civic crown, flanking laurel trees, and at either end what are probably Victory crowns corresponding to the crowns held by the figures of Victory. Presumably the list of sixty tribes mentioned in Strabo's description of the altar (4, 3, 4; p. 192) will have been engraved on a side of the monument not exposed to view. As for a number of objects that rise above the structure, either upon the *mensa* or behind it, it seems clear that at the centre stand two *aediculae* conceivably intended to hold representations of Roma and Augustus; whether the figures to either side illustrate busts in cultic use or are a reference to the sixty statues that according to Strabo stood in the vicinity of the altar remains a matter for debate.

No physical trace survives of the altar itself though its site is thought to have been the flat summit of the rue Bourdeau, on the south slope of the hill of Croix Rousse at Lyon. But part of a bronze crown of laurels was found at the east end of the terrace where the sanctuary was located, a bronze statuette of Victory has been recovered from the Rhone, local medallions are stamped with Victories, and what might be the actual pillars that supported the Victories from the time of Hadrian today sustain the cupola of the church of St. Martin at Ainay.[20] Other archaeological traces, in particular a plaque of white marble with the inset for the letters RO and a marble fragment showing an oak swag with two axes, a lash and a human head, are more probably attributable to the Hadrianic provincial temple and the tribunal of the adjacent amphitheatre respectively. Despite unsolved problems of interpretation,[21] then, the altar at Lugdunum is plainly exceptional in being the only provincial monument in the western Roman empire of which we have a firm idea based on contemporary evidence.[22]

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[17] Maurin (1986) 111 with refs.

[18] Vol. I, 1, 102–30.

[19] See Vol. III, 3, 111–16.

ii. Historical Context

For the circumstances under which the altar was established one can draw on the literary sources. Dio reports that in order to forestall trouble among the Gauls, who were discontented with their subjection, Drusus summoned the leading men of the territory to Lugdunum on the pretext of the festival which still in his own day was celebrated around the altar of Augustus:

> τῶν τε γὰϱ Συγάμβϱων ϰαὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διά τε τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπουσίαν ϰαὶ διὰ ⟨τὸ⟩ τοὺς Γαλάτας μὴ ἐϑελοδουλεῖν πολεμωϑέντων σφίσι, τό τε ὑπήϰοον πϱοϰατέλαβε, τοὺς πϱώτους αὐτοῦ, πϱοφάσει τῆς ἑοϱτῆς ἣν ϰαὶ νῦν πεϱὶ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου Βωμὸν ἐν Λουγδούνῳ τελοῦσι, μεταπεμψάμενος... (54, 32, 1)

Livy give a broadly similar account of the same events. The *Epitome* of Book 139, slightly contaminated, states explicitly:

> *Civitates Germaniae cis Rhenum et trans Rhenum positae oppugnantur a Druso, et tumultus, qui ob censum exortus in Gallia erat, componitur; ara deo Caesaris ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata, sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo.*[23]

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[20] For doubts and reservations see Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 183.

[21] Detailed discussion below, Vol. III, 3, 107–20.

[22] The octostyle temple shown on coins issued by Tarraco under Tiberius is undoubtedly a projected structure. Whether the same is true of the tetrastyle temple illustrated by contemporary coins of Emerita is uncertain. See below, Vol. III, 3, 41–3, 52–8.

[23] The new edition by Jal (1984) 103–4, reads *dei Caesaris* rather than *divi Caesaris*.

Taken together, the two sources confirm that the background was one of discontent and upheaval arising over the census. Presumably Drusus will have tried to allay Gallic concerns in this regard but other items may also have stood on the agenda: the planned campaign against the Germans, for instance.[24] Dio's mention of a festival has been thought to imply a pre-Roman native celebration of Lug, yet evidence for this is very uncertain, so for present purposes the issue is best left moot.[25] Whatever the facts of the matter in this regard, the combined texts make clear that out of the gathering at Lugdunum came the dedication of the altar to Roma and Augustus and the priesthood of C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus. As Dio confirms beyond reasonable doubt, the initiative came from the Roman side, specifically Drusus; there can be no question that the Gauls voluntarily or spontaneously proposed the establishment of a federal cult, an idea of Toutain recently revived by S. R. F. Price.[26] On the contrary, everything points to a proactive Roman role exactly as at Cologne, where the Ara Ubiorum was certainly established on Roman initiative, perhaps soon afterwards by Drusus himself, and similar circumstances look to lie behind the foundations among the Lingones in 9 B.C. and on the east bank of the Elbe *ca.* 2 B.C. (below, pp. 22–3).[27]

How in that case the installation of a cult could serve Drusus' attempt to calm the Gauls down is less clear. As J. W. Rich points out, simply to impose the worship of the emperor would hardly make them loyal.[28] In practice the ruler cult was to record some signal failures in this respect: the Roman citizen Segimundus, priest at the *ara Ubiorum*, broke his priestly fillets and defected to the rebels under Arminius (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 57), while at Camulodunum the temple of Divus Claudius and the costs of constructing it were one of the principal causes for the rebellion of Boudicca (Tac., *Ann.* 14, 31). The answer can only be that the inducement Drusus held out was the prospect of holding the priesthood of the Three Gauls, its incumbent to be elected from Gallic delegates to a federal *concilium*. An additional attraction, presumably, will have been the opportunity to serve as delegate to a council at which matters of mutual concern could be discussed, grievances aired, and Roman officials praised or blamed.[29] In a sense these public roles for prominent Gauls anticipated the honours which the *primores Galliae* demanded (Tac., *Ann.* 11, 23) and Claudius supported in his famous speech to the senate, a copy of which was later set up at the federal sanctuary, perhaps on the wall of some public building (*CIL* 13, 1668; *ILTG* 219).[30] That so tempting an offer could have been refused is difficult to imagine. At all events the upshot of the meeting in late summer of 12 B.C. was that Drusus secured the agreement of the Gauls to join in a common cult served by one of their number as high priest. The altar, conceivably already prepared, was then dedicated and C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus elected priest.[31]

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[24] So Rich (1993) 200.

[25] Vol. I, 1, 99–100; Simpson (1987) 589–90; Turcan (1991) 737. For the relation of the festival to the martyrdom of the Christians in A.D. 177 see Vol. II, 1, 578–9.

[26] Fishwick, Review (1986) 226 *ad* Price (1984) 74, cf. Vol. I, 1, 187. See further Rives (1995) 86 with n. 138, taking the cult to have been imposed from above. Rich (1993) 198, states that newly pacified territories, in particular Gaul and Germany, constitute an exception to the rule that the imperial cult was always introduced by local initiative. But see below, pp. 213–19.

[27] Cf. Rich (1993) 198.

[28] *O.c.* 197.

iii. Date of Dedication

This reading of the combined testimony of Dio and Livy raises the debatable question of the precise year in which the Altar of the Three Gauls was formally dedicated at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône.[32] Did the event take place in 12 B.C., as the Periocha of Livy confirms and Dio could imply? Or should one rather believe Suetonius, who appears to link the dedication of the altar with the birth of the future emperor Claudius in 10 B.C.?

> *Claudius natus est Iullo Antonio Fabio Africano conss. Kal. Aug. Luguduni eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est...* (*Claud.* 2, 1)

If we suppose for the moment that Suetonius intended to stress the fact that Claudius' birth coincided with the actual dedication of the altar, then both of these events took place in A.D. 10, the year when Iullus Antonius and Fabius Africanus were eponymous consuls. Whereas Livy's epitomator and Dio both put the event under 12 B.C., then, Suetonius appears to date it two years later. Which source is to be preferred in this respect is a matter for balanced judgement. It is true that the information in the Periochae can be chronologically inaccurate on occasion,[33] evidently the result of carelessness or aberrant reorganization of material on the part of the compiler,[34] but far more events are rightly dated in the adjacent epitomies and, all things considered, Livy's text looks as authoritative on this score as that of Suetonius, who has his own share of errors.[35] In the present instance Suetonius was writing a century or so *post factum*, whereas Livy was a contemporary of the events he relates. On that score alone, then, he appears a credible witness, especially when corroborated on most points by Dio, who puts the whole affair under 12 B.C.

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[29] Deininger (1965) 104–7; Vol. I, 1, 136–7.

[30] Audin (1956) 154–5.

[31] For the possibility that Livy's term *creato* could imply that the first priest at the altar was elected by the Gallic leaders (rather than chosen by Drusus) see Vol. I, 1, 101.

[32] Fishwick, Dedication (1996).

An alternative approach, first suggested by O. Hirschfeld and adopted in recent years by Simpson and Rich, would be to take 12 B.C. as the year when the altar was "constituted" or inaugurated, 10 B.C. as that of its dedication. The culmination of the ritual process would then coincide with the date Suetonius gives. In practice, however, the possibility of a two-year gap between "constitution" and dedication looks excluded on a number of accounts. Of particular interest is Livy's information, reported in no other source, that the dedication followed the appointment of C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus as *sacerdos*. This romanized Aeduan, a citizen to judge from his *tria nomina* and presumably a member of the native aristocracy, will therefore have been charged with conducting rites at the altar—inaccurately attributed by Livy's *epitomator* to Caesar, that is Augustus. (Suetonius too is in error on this point whereas the coins and inscriptions unanimously link Roma with Augustus.) If, however, the ceremony that took place in 12 B.C. was the inaugural step of "constitution"—roughly speaking a religious equivalent to the modern civil ceremony of "turning the sod"—then the altar itself could not have been put into cultic service until its formal dedication two years later.[36] One might well ask in that case what function the first priest *ad aram* could have performed in the interval. The same point applies to his immediate successor, given that the term of the federal *sacerdotium* was annual.[37] The appointment of a priest surely implies the implementation of rites that are made possible by the formal act of

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[33] Simpson (1987) 591, observes that Agrippa's death (*Per.* 138), the return of the *signa* from Parthia (*Per.* 141), and the Varian disaster (*Per.* 142) are all wrongly dated or misplaced.

[34] Cf. Rich (1993) 196, n. 14, noting Jal's point that the compiler worked from the full text of Livy rather than an epitome.

[35] See Simpson *ibid.*, n. 23.

[36] For the rite of *constitutio* see Vol. I, 2, 201–13.

[37] Deiniger (1965) 150. Cf. Alföldy (1973) 44; further below, Vol. III, 2, 43–6.

dedicatio, as a result of which an altar or a temple is consecrated to a particular deity. The day this took place then became the *dies natalis* of the altar. If only by virtue of the technicalities of ritual procedure, therefore, the appointment of C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus to the federal priesthood *ad aram* would appear to support, if not confirm, the contemporaneous dedication of the altar. The suggestion has even been made that C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus may have participated in the rite himself.[38] If so, the act of dedication, performed by a magistrate (here Drusus himself?) assisted by a priest, will have resulted in the formal consecration of the monument.[39]

A second difficulty is the gap of two years between the constitution of the altar, supposedly in 12 B.C., and its dedication in 10 B.C. How exactly is one to account for the interval? The obvious parallel is the period between the "constitution" of the Ara Pacis on 4th July, 13 B.C., and the dedication of the monument on 30th January, 9 B.C.[40] At Rome the intervening three years and seven months are clearly attributable to work on the intricate, sculpted carving of the precinct walls that enclosed this most famous—and most elaborate—of Roman altars. To apply the analogy to Lugdunum, however, means in the first place that the novel precinct style of altar, later repeated at Rome in the Ara Providentiae, for example, must have been immediately copied at Lugdunum. That the Ara Trium Galliarum owed much to the inspiration of Augustus is perfectly credible:[41] Augustus himself became *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C. after the death of Lepidus the previous year and, as such, will have been responsible for matters pertaining to religious lore and points of ritual law.[42] Furthermore his own stepson, the Elder Drusus, was the official immediately responsible at Lugdunum. But can one suppose that an innovative Roman model, which appears for the first time in the Ara Pacis, was contemporaneously copied in Tres Galliae, when in Italy the Ara Pacis apparently remained unique until the reign of Tiberius[43]? That the monument as illustrated on the coins is in fact the enclosure wall of the precint rather than the altar itself looks in any event a fragile hypothesis open to objection on a variety of grounds.[44]

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[38] Allmer–Dissard (1889–93) 2, 50, cf. 58, 68.

[39] *RE* 4,1 (1900) 896–902 (Wissowa); cf. *id. RE* 4, 2 (1901) 2356–9; (1912) 385, 473–4.

[40] Vol. I, 2, 204–5 with n. 47 and refs. See more recently Settis (1988). For the suggestion that the scene on the south wall of the Ara Pacis depicts the procession of the imperial family on the day Augustus became *pontifex maximus* see Bowerstock (1990).

[41] Rich (1993) 200.

[42] Fishwick, Carthage (1995) 242.

[43] The only example of a possible precinct type altar in the Western empire looks to be that before the temple in the Calle Claudio Marcelo at Corduba, as interpreted

While agreeing that so complex a structure as the Ara Pacis is unlikely at Lugdunum, Rich advances an alternative argument in support of a preliminary "constitution" in A.D. 12. He suggests that all or part of the intervening years (the altar need not have been dedicated immediately on completion) will have been taken up in preparation of the site, more precisely "with the construction of a terrace on the summit, approached by ramps—a work of such monumental grandeur that it has been compared with the temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste".[45] Here there is a misconception of the local topography. In the first place the altar of the Three Gauls did not occupy a site on the summit of a hill overlooking the confluence.[46] As presently imagined, the monument will have been placed just behind, slightly west of the *chevet* of the church of St. Polycarp on the flat central part of the Rue Burdeau at an altitude of 200m.[47] From there the road slopes away on either side while, above and below, the Rue des Tables-Claudiennes and the Rue René-Leynaud are level. In other words the site of the altar takes advantage of a natural feature, a sort of cliff face. Certainly there are traces of Roman work on the terrain, in particular a wall supporting the double ramp of the Rue Burdeau. But the peculiar configuration of the land with its possibilities for the deployment of processions was not an artificial creation,[48] so it is out of the question to suppose that all or part of the presumed period between "constitution" and dedication was spent in construction of a terrace. Had that been the case, the process of "constitution" would in any case have applied to the site of the altar—not to the terrace, which would surely have had to be completed before the rite could take place. It follows that

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by Garcia y Bellido (1970) with figs. 3 and 4. See most recently Jiménez (1989–90) 80ff. with refs.; further Vol. III, 3, 93–4 with Pl. 102.

[44] See below, Vol. III, 3, 112–113.

[45] Rich (1993) 199, citing Audin (1956) 152; *et al.* In fact the terrace has never been compared with the temple at Praeneste, only with the configuration of the similar (though smaller) ramps above the Via del Borgo that lead up to the level of the hemicycles.

[46] Rich, *o.c.* 193.

[47] Audin (1956) 149ff. with fig. 7. But see now the reservations of Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 182–5, noting that this hypothesis remains very uncertain.

[48] Cf. Audin, *o.c.* 152: "Voici donc, préparé par la nature puis aménagé par les hommes, le site de ce sanctuaire..."

the combination of these two considerations—the likelihood that Suetonius wished simply to mark the coincidence of Claudius' birth with the anniversary of the dedication and the lack of any credible explanation for a supposed two-year gap between the "constitution" and the dedication of the altar—tells strongly against dating the dedication of the altar to A.D. 10 and rather in favour of accepting Livy's authority for assigning the event to 12 B.C.

There remains the possibility previously advocated that the information of Livy, strongly backed by Dio's testimony, is essentially correct and what Suetonius means is that Claudius was born at Lugdunum two years later on the *anniversary* of the dedication.[49] The critical phrase in Suetonius' testimony is *eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est* … . *Primum* has a range of meanings.[50] The primary sense is obviously "first", "in the first place", "as the first point", "for the first time".[51] In what way, then, could Suetonius have said the altar was "first" dedicated? The rite of dedication was a unique act and the day this took place was later celebrated as the *dies natalis* of an altar or a temple. With no possibility of a subsequent rite to lend force to "first", *primum* would appear meaningless in this sense. A second possibility is that Suetonius intended to say "originally", "at the beginning", "at first". Again, if the biographer means that the *dies natalis* of both Claudius and the altar was August 1st., 10 B.C., then *primum* looks otiose, superfluous, needlessly repetitive. If Claudius had been born within hours of the ceremony of dedication, Suetonius could simply have written … *eo ipso die quo ara ibi Augusto dedicata est*—or more clearly still … *dedicata est Iullo Antonio Fabi Africano conss.* On the other hand, if the altar had been dedicated two years earlier, *primum* makes excellent sense. For what Suetonius emphasizes is that Claudius was born on the *anniversary* of the day when the altar was *originally* dedicated. As it stands, therefore, the text surely stresses the correspondence of the day rather than the year: the emperor's own *dies natalis* coincided with the existing *dies natalis* of the Altar of the Three Gauls. That monument symbolized the confederation of Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica, and its dedication will have been a famous event, undoubtedly the most significant and celebrated since the division of Gallia Comata into three administrative units, probably 16–13 B.C.[52] If fate had decreed that Claudius' birth at Lugdunum should fall on so important an anniversary, this was something worth recording.

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[49] Vol. I, 1, 98–9.

[50] *OLD* 1456–7 *s.v.*

[51] Simpson (1987) 588, n. 13 cites Pliny, *Ep.* 10, 30: *Ille enim dies, quo primum probati sunt, veritatem ab iis originis suae exegit.* Here it is quite clear that *primum* means "as a first step". Trajan refers to the preliminary *probatio*, the questioning by the recruiting officer about the status of recruits. On acceptance a man was given a sort of identity disk to wear, then sent to his unit for training.

If the foregoing argument can stand, there is no sound reason to suppose rites separated by two—or even more than two years, on Rich's view. The dedication will rather have taken place in 12 B.C. as the combined testimony of Livy and Dio confirms. What form the monumental ensemble might have taken on this occasion is an intriguing question. The names of the Gallic tribes can hardly have been inscribed yet on the altar as Strabo reports,[53] nor can statues of the Gallic tribes have stood in the vicinity.[54] These elements, some of them plainly Greek, must be features added later.[55] That the same could be true of the statues of Victory seems also a hypothesis worth serious consideration. Aside from the physical dificulties of having such towering monuments on hand in 12 B.C. it would scarcely have served Drusus' purpose to flaunt symbols of Roman domination before the eyes of the Gallic delegates at the very outset.[56] In contrast the choice of 1st August as the day of dedication, with its link to Victory and Augustan associations, would have been less provocative.[57] There looks a distinct possibility, therefore, that the Victories were erected subsequently to the meeting of 12 B.C. We are left with the rectangular block displaying imperial symbols.[58] If these were not already engraved, there is no good reason why they could not have been added later. The temple of Mars Ultor, for instance, was dedicated in 2 B.C. when still short of completion.[59]

In retrospect, then, there appears no good reason why the necessary "constitution" ceremony, which applied solely to the site of the altar, could not have been carried out and the altar itself positioned and dedicated—all in the course of the same meeting in 12 B.C. In precisely the same way the altars at Ara Ubiorum and on the Elbe, perhaps also among the Lingones, must have required—like any other altar—a preliminary rite of "constitution" before dedication. No case has ever been made for a long gap between the two rites at these centres. As for the date of 1st August, known for its coincidence with Claudius' day of birth (Suet., *Claud.* 2, 1), this will surely have been the day of dedication, the *dies natalis* and principal festival of the altar. When notices of an altar's "constitution" are so few in the sources,[60] it is inconceivable that this could still have been celebrated with an attendant festival at Lugdunum in Dio's time.[61]

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[52] Fishwick, Provinces (1994) 121 with n. 17 and refs.

[53] On the number of the tribes see Vol. III, 2, 55–9; Maurin (1978) 200–1; Richard (1991) 207–8.

[54] Fishwick (1989) 111–12.

[55] Richard (1992) 505–9.

[56] On the symbolism of the Victories see Vol. I, 1, 111–18.

[57] For the significance of the day see Vol. I, 1, 118; Rich (1993) 201.

[58] Vol. I, 1, 106–10, 118–20.

[59] Weinstock (1971) 128ff.; Gros (1976) 66–7; Richardson (1992) 160–2.

iv. The Cult *ad aram*

The central evidence is provided by the surviving records of priests, which begin at the close of Augustus' reign or early under Tiberius and confirm that the structure epigraphically defined as *ad confluentem/confluentes* ... or *inter confluentes* was dedicated to Roma and Augustus *ab initio*.[62] The consistency of the epigraphical sources in this respect can be compared with the varying testimony of the literary authorities: in particular Livy's reference to the altar of the god Caesar (*Per.* 139), Suetonius' statement that the altar was dedicated to Augustus (*Claud.* 2, 1), and Dio's allusion to the altar of Augustus (54, 32, 1). The cult itself was served by *sacerdotes*, over forty of whom are now attested, the bulk of them at the sanctuary; even the appointment of the first priest, the Aeduan C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus, is reported, in this case by Livy (*ibid.*). Thanks to the abundance of this category of evidence it becomes possible to trace in relative detail both the development of the worship itself and the various characteristics of both priests and other cult officials.

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[60] Vol. I, 2, 207–8.

[61] So Rich (1993) 201, inferring two festivals celebrating the "constitution" and dedication respectively. Anniversaries were certainly celebrated but there was surely only one festival at Lugdunum, that held in August and described by Eusebius as "populous with people assembled to it from all the nations" (*Hist. Eccl.* 5, 1, 47).

[62] See now Clauss (1999) 396–7, discounting the place of Roma in the cult despite the fact that the goddess is attested in the earliest coins and continues in the titulature of provincial priests down to the early third century (omitted in *CIL* 13, 1541). His statement, *o.c.* 398, that Roma may have taken her place in the cult beside Augustus at a later stage is incorrect. For a list of the *sacerdotes* of Tres Galliae see Vol. III, 2, 60–8.

Ara Ubiorum

Among the events he records under A.D. 12 (*Ann.* 1, 39, 1) Tacitus confirms that an altar now stood at the settlement by modern Cologne; often recorded as a toponym, the name was retained when the centre became a colony under Claudius in A.D. 50 with the title Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis.[63] The precise date of foundation is uncertain but the likeliest period looks to be 12–9 B.C. when Drusus was campaigning in the area, an inference supported by the apparent presence of a statue or cenotaph of Drusus near the altar, beside which Germanicus addressed the troops after the legions mutinied on the death of Augustus in A.D. 14. So early a date of institution suggests the monument will have been comparable to that established by Drusus at Lugdunum but, as no trace of the altar itself survives, we do not know whether it bore any physical resemblance to the *ara ad confluentes Araris et Rhodani*, nor does any direct evidence throw light on the nature of the cult it served, though clearly this must have focussed on the imperial house. The circumstance that the priest who served the cult was styled *sacerdos* (below) and that the altar looks closely in line with the foundation at Lugdunum nevertheles suggests that the worship will have been similarly addressed to Roma and Augustus.[64]

While its exact emplacement is unclear,[65] the name of the monument links it specifically with the Ubii, whose *oppidum*, built over the last two decades B.C.,[66] had become the centre of operations for the Roman command in the region. Tacitus alludes to the presence of the first and twentieth legions in winter quarters there (*Ann.*, 1, 39, 2), so it can hardly be doubted that the altar lay close to the military camp (*ibid.* 1, 39, 4, cf. 8). The precise intention of the structure remains uncertain. While the strategic position of the Ubii could well suggest the altar was planned as the cult centre of a future province of Germany, it is not impossible that the immediate purpose was to establish a focus of local loyalties in the immediate vicinity of legionary headquarters. If so, the *ara Ubiorum* would parallel similar altars established by Rome about the same time in serving as the hub of a regional cult that covered an area of loose organisation and vague geography.[67]

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[63] For the link with Agrippina, who was born in the *oppidum* of the Ubii in A.D 15 see Liertz (1998) 65–6 with refs.

[64] See now Liertz (2000) 93–4.

[65] For a suggested site on the island in the Rhine opposite the west fringe of the harbour see Vol. I, 1, 138 with note 279. On the hypothesis of Hellenkemper (1975) 795, the *Ara Ubiorum* will have been the focal point of the first forum of the settlement.

[66] On the background see Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 252–4; Liertz (1998) 63–4.

The principal event in the early history of the altar is the defection of the Roman citizen Segimundus (*Ann.* 1, 58, 12), who tore his fillets and fled to the rebels under his brother Arminius on the insurrection of the Germanies in A.D. 9: ... *quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere, sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus, ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles* (*Ann.* 1, 57, 2). Following the Roman expedition to the right bank of the Rhine on the collapse of the mutiny in A.D. 14, his father Segestes sent an embassy—including Segimundus himself—to Germanicus in the hope of obtaining his son's pardon; in this he was successful, though Segimundus had to parade in the triumph Germanicus celebrated in A.D. 17 (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 57, 3; Strabo 7, 291). The phrase *sacerdos ... creatus* recalls Livy's account of the appointment of C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus, the Aeduan who was first priest at the Confluence in 12 B.C. (*Per.* 139), but in this case Drusus had summoned the foremost men of Gallia Comata to Lugdunum, so here the word could well have its basic sense of "elected by due process",[68] even if in practice Drusus used his influence. Whether the same interpretation could apply in the case of Segimundus in less clear. There is no word in the sources of a body of representatives from the German tribes that met, say, once a year to elect a priest of the cult on the model of the mechanism at the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum. In any event, whatever procedure had been followed in the eighteen(?) years reaching back to the foundation of the altar, it seems unlikely that a formal process of election could have taken place in A.D. 9 in a region on the brink of rebellion. Under these conditions the recent sugestion of U.-M. Liertz merits serious consideration, namely that Segimundus had been informally appointed priest at the meeting which the German chieftains (including Arminius) held with the Roman commander Varus in A.D. 9 (*Ann.* 1. 58; cf. 55, 3).[69] The hypothesis is supported by the fact that Segimundus was a member of the Cherusci and son of the pro-Roman Segestes, who warned Varus in vain of the pending rebellion.[70] If that is the case, either Tacitus has simply assumed that an election of some sort took place or his terminology is inexact.

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[67] Vol. I, 1, 139.

[68] Vol. I, 1, 101.

[69] Liertz (1998) 65 with nn. 22–3.

[70] Liertz, *o.c.* 65 with nn. 22–3.

Templum apud Lingonum gentem

According to the sixth-century source Cassiodorus, in 9 B.C. Drusus consecrated a temple to Caesar among the Lingones, whose territory lay at that time in Gallica Belgica:

> *Drusus Nero et L. Quinctius his conss. apud Lingonum gentem templum Caesari Drusus sacravit* (*Chron.* 2, p. 135, 586–7)

Despite its lateness, the entry may draw upon the text of Livy, whom Cassidorus gives as one of his sources (396). A temple would be out of line with other foundations by Drusus, all of which centred on an altar, but Livy's inaccuracy in regard to the altar at the Confluence has already been noticed and his testimony could well have been contaminated or distorted in the interval before Cassiodorus compiled his chronicle. As the date corresponds closely with Drusus' installations at Lugdunum and in all probability by Cologne, it seems possible that only the nature of the monument has been misrepresented and that Drusus did in fact establish an altar among the Lingones while present in this general region.[71] Such a monument would in that case have been the focal point of a regional cult similar to others dating from this same period. The weakness of the inference is that it appears to be unsupported by further evidence. A fragmentary inscription at Andemantunnum (Langres), the principal centre of the Lingones, seems to refer to a [... *sacerd.*] *Roma*[*e* | *et*] *Au*[*g(usti)*] (*CIL* 13, 5679), a cult form which would certainly correspond to that at other regional foundations, but whether the text records a priesthood at the supposed *ara Lingonum* or honours locally a priest who served at the federal centre by Lugdunum in entirely uncertain. Other fragmentary texts recently assembled by Liertz refer rather to municipal offices at Andemantunnum.[72] Conversely there is no parallel to support M. Speidel's suggestion that the temple consecrated by Drusus among the Lingones may be a local foundation like the temple of Roma and Augustus at Augst: recorded foundations by members of the imperial house are all at the regional, not municipal level.[73] With the evidence so uncertain, therefore, the inference that Drusus established a regional altar among the Lingones remains at best an attractive hypothesis.

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[71] For maps of the area see Liertz (1998) 247–9. See in general Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 252, taking Drusus to have consecrated a temple.

[72] Liertz (1998) 51–2.

[73] Speidel (1993) 183, n. 21, overlooks an important distinction in stating that, accord-

An Altar on the Elbe

The sole testimony is Dio's statement that L. Domitius Ahenobarbus planted an altar on the east bank of the Elbe *ca.* 2 B.C.: ... ϰαὶ βωμὸν ἐπ'αὐτοῦ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἱδϱύσατο (55, 10a, 2).[74] Here there is no mention of Roma but Dio's report recalls his earlier imprecision in referring to "the altar of Augustus" at the Confluence (54, 32, 1), so the possibiity that the altar on the Elbe, like that by Cologne, might have similarly served the cult of Roma and Augustus is by no means excluded. Otherwise the structure looks to parallel the three foundations by Drusus in that it was established by a member of the imperial house once Roman control had been imposed. We have seen that the Sestian altars may have been set up in north-west Spain under similar circumstances. Indirect evidence for the altar has been read into the account in Velleius Paterculus of how a barbarian chief crossed the Elbe in a dug-out canoe and was given permission to gaze at Caesar, that is Tiberius, and to touch his hand (*Hist. Rom.* 2, 107).[75] If not sheer invention on the part of Velleius, the chief's purported reference to the worship of Caesar's divinity in his absence—*cum vestrum numen absentium colat*—might conceivably relate to the cult of Augustus at the altar. Whatever the status of this particular record, the altar on the Elbe fits the pattern of other Augustan foundations, each of which was intended to be the fulcrum of a regional cult.

A Regional Centre at Lugdunum Convenarum?

While there is no literary evidence to draw on, a cluster of other *testimonia* has been thought to suggest that Lugdunum Convenarum served as the centre of an intermunicipal or regional cult paid by the nine *civitates* of Caesarian Aquitania.[76] It will be appropriate as a first step to set out the epigraphic and archaeological evidence to which all previous discussion has necessarily been limited.

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ing to *ICLW*, Vol. I, 1, 144–5, only altars of Roma and Augustus occur in the western provinces under Augustus. One hears only of altars at the *regional* level, but municipal temples are certainly attested in the Augustan period as at Augusta Raurica and Lugdunum Convenarum (below, pp. 29–31, 38).

[74] Vol I, 1, 145.

[75] So Price (1987) 64; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 352–3; 2, 258: 10. 6a, noting that this is a Roman image of barbarian reaction to the imperial presence.

[76] Proposed by Aymard (1941) 232–3. See further Maurin (1972) 6–9; (1978) 200; (1986) 117 with n. 40. The earlier idea of a provincial cult of the "Nine Peoples" was

i. A Regional Council?

The existence of a council that served the separate constituencies of the "Nine Peoples" might conceivably be attested by a fragmentary text at Lugdunum Convenarum, the four lines of which appear to have recorded that C. Iulius Serenus underwrote the costs of repairs or renovations on walls of some sort (*ILTG* 81=*AE*, 1997, 1093, Pl. 1).[77] The surviving remnants belong to an imposing inscription that ran across two adjoining plaques, more than three metres in width, and was evidently posted at one time on a wall. The key piece for immediate purposes is fragment B, the fourth line of which gives the letters CỌ followed by a gap where a piece of the stone has been lost (Pl. 2). Immediately alongside is usually placed a small piece G (Pl. 3), the moulding of which indicates its origin at the bottom of the inscribed field. As this remnant preserves the bottom of a C followed by what has been taken to be the foot of an I, the reading *cọ[n]c̣ị[lium/li(i)/o* has universally been accepted.[78] It is essentially on the basis of these five letters—the second barely preserved, the third restored, the fourth and fifth arbitrarily juxtaposed—that the entire case for a regional council of the "Nine Peoples" now stands.[79]

Earlier points of the text are less controversial. In line 4, immediately before CỌ are the words *et i]n[.]enḍio*, the likelier completion of which is *i]n[p]enḍio*, a form common enough in epigraphical texts, rather than *i]n[c]enḍio*.[80] To restore a preceding formula [*cura sua et i*]*n*[*p*]*enḍio* then becomes an attractive possibility,[81] but on the analysis of A. Aymard *i*]*n*[*p*]*enḍio cọ*[*n*]*c̣ị*[*li(i)*] is excluded by the fact that funds in the treasury of a hypothetical council would, strictly speaking, have belonged not

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originally proposed by Lizop (1932) 185 and Sapène (1940) 97–8. I am much very much indebted to J. L. Schenk-David, who kindly forwarded several photographs of *ILTG* 81 along with a copy of Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994).

[77] For full discussion see Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 110–11 with figs. 110–11, 173–9 with full bibliography (176) *ad* no. 5; further Étienne (1974) 170–2; Maurin (1986) 117, n. 40.

[78] Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 177 with figs. 168b, 173.

[79] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 112.

[80] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 177 with n. 2.

[81] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 176–7, noting that this excludes reading *su*[*mptu suo*] on line 3 after *pa*[*r*]*ietes*. As there seems to be room for at least six or seven letters after *su*[… , an abbreviation of, say, *sumptis impensis* might come into consideration, given that C. Iulius Serenus is the benefactor; cf. *CIL* 13, 1675 (where *impensis* is restored).

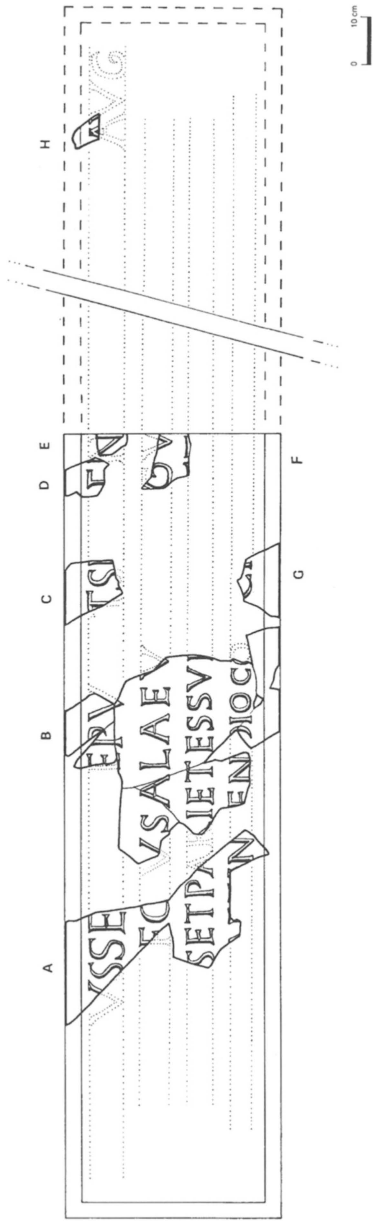
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Plate 1. Inscription of C. Iulius Serenus. Proposed restitution by J.-L. Schenck.

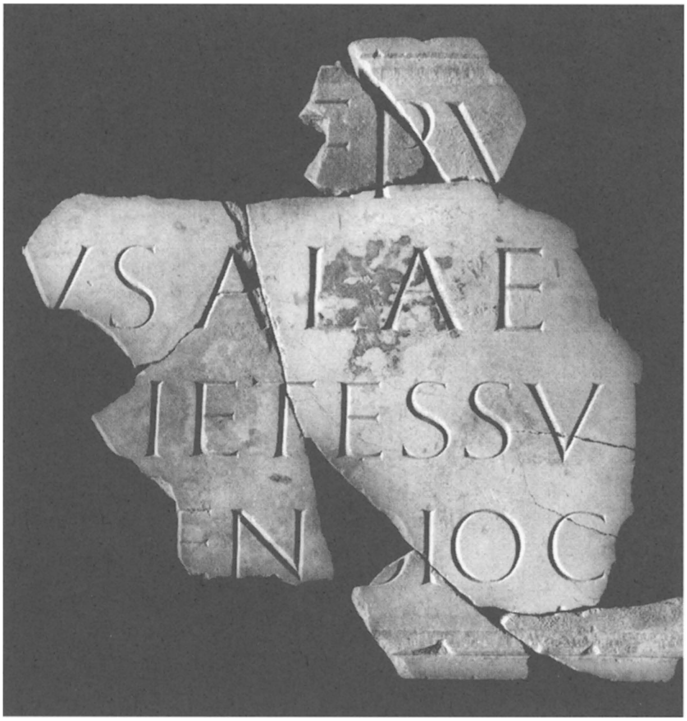
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Plate 2. Inscription of C. Iulius Serenus, fragment B.

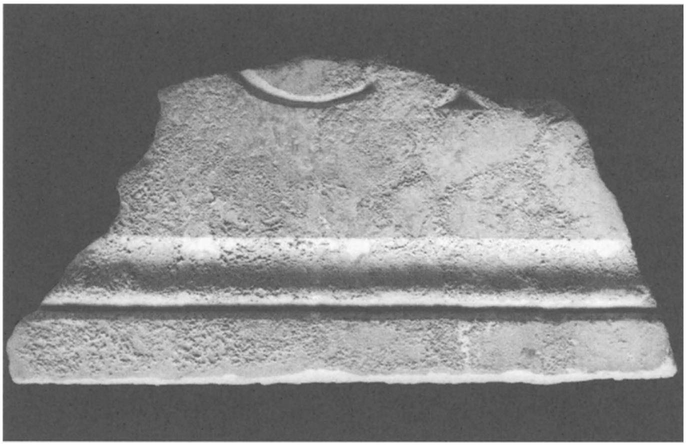

Plate 3. Inscription of C. Iulius Serenus, fragment G.

to the assembly itself, but to the collectivity it represented—precisely as at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls.[82] It follows that, if some form of the word *concilium* is to be restored, a completion such as *consensu* or *permissu* must be supposed, alternatively a participle such as *permittente* with *cọ[n]c̣ị[lio*; *ILTG* 81 reads *co[n]ci[lio iubente?]* following Aymard. Whatever the original construction, the word *concilium* would point to a wider organization, the representatives of which met regularly, if not exclusively, at Lugdunum Convenarum, inferentially the seat of the cult.[83]

ii. Regional Priests?

Further evidence has been sought in a series of inscriptions recording priests of Roma and Augustus, who supposedly served the cult paid by the "Nine Peoples"[84]. At least two of these are known by name: Gn. Po[mpeius?] Fron[to] and above all C. Iulius Serenus, son of Sextus, whose career is attested by at least four inscriptions dated to the early years of the second century A.D.[85] This local notable, whose *gentilicium* points to a grant of citizenship dating back to Caesar or Augustus,[86] became *quattuorvir*, then *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* (*ILTG* 76 = *AE*, 1997, 1094), before being admitted to the *ordo equester*. Only one *militia equestris*, the prefecture of the *ala VII Phrygum*,[87] is mentioned in his inscriptions—whether this is because imperial favour brought him rapid promotion

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[82] Aymard (1941) 234–9; (1943) 178–80; Maurin (1972) 6 with n. 25. To read *i]n[p]endio co[n]ci[li(i)* would be illogical in any case if Serenus were the benefactor.

[83] Aymard (1941) 232–3, accepts the idea of an intermunicipal cult on the lines of similar structures in the Greek East.

[84] So cautiously Gysler–Bielman (1994) 101, 108. For the outside possibility that the title might have become *sacerdos Romae et Augustorum/Divorum Augustorum* see Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 111, 189 *ad* no. 12 (*ILTG* 79 = *AE*, 1997, 1100).

[85] For detailed discussion see Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 109, 173–90 *ad* C. Iulius Serenus (nos. 5–8 = *ILTG* 81, 76–8 = *AE*, 1997, 1093–6), [C. Iulius] (no. 9 = *ILTG* 84 = *AE*, 1997, 1097), Gnaeus [...] (no. 10 = *AE*, 1997, 1098), Gn(aius) Po[mpeius?] Fron[to] (no. 11 = *AE*, 1997, 1099), and two anonymous priests (nos. 12–13 = *ILTG* 79, 82 = *AE*, 1997, 1100–1). *ILTG* 82 documents a priest of Roma and Augustus who appears to have served twice—though *AE*, 1997, 1101 takes *II* to mean rather *IIviro*—and looks not to be identical with C. Iulius Serenus. For repeated tenure of a provincial priesthood see *AE*, 1908, 149 (Hispania Citerior), *ILGN* 634 (Gallia Narbonensis), ? *CIL* 13, 1716 (Tres Galliae). Almost all of the inscriptions from the temple enclosure have been found re-used, whether in antiquity or in modern times.

[86] Other members of the local elite may have received citizenship under Pompey as the name of Gn. Po[mpeius?] Fron[to] could suggest: Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 109 with n. 1.

[87] See *RE* 1, 1 (1893) 1257 (Cichorius); Alföldy (1968) 52; Cheesman (1968) 162; Saddington (1982) 161.

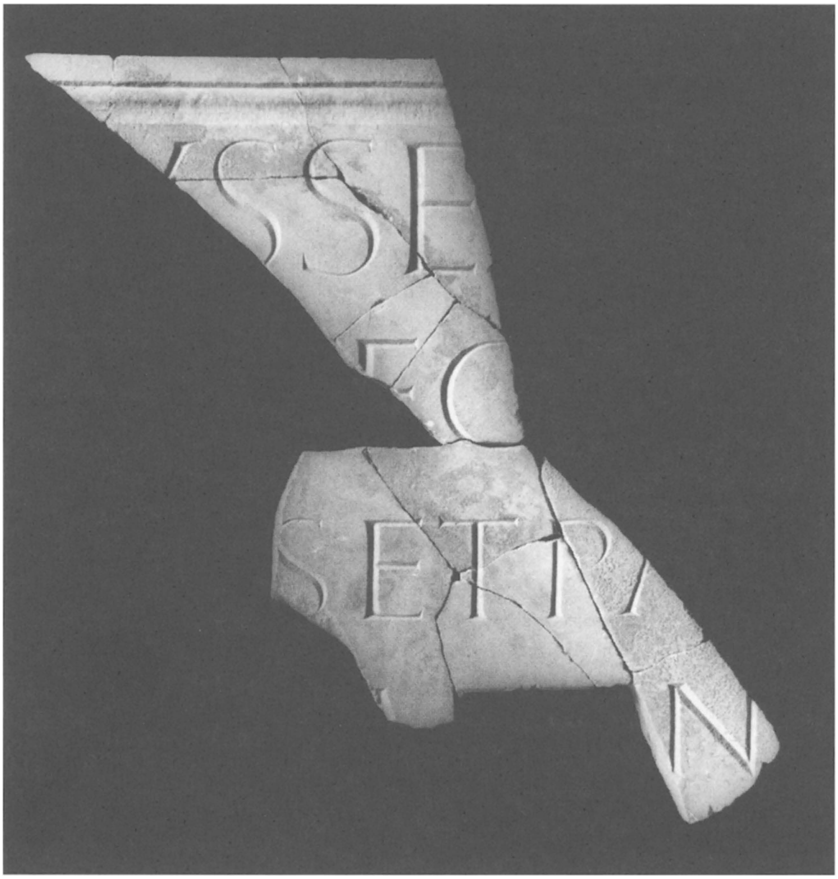

Plate 4. Inscription of C. Iulius Serenus, fragment A.

or the *cursus* mentions only his latest responsibility is unclear. At all events he brought renown on his *patria*, where his [*convic*]*ani* set up a dedication in his honour, and along with his wife Iulia Iuliola, daughter of Lucius and herself a member of the same *gens* as Serenus, made a dedication to Plotina, the wife of Trajan (*ILTG* 74=*AE*, 1997, 1092). Of particular interest for present purposes is that his name is clearly to be read in the first line of the building inscription (*ILTG* 81=*AE*, 1997, 1093; Pl. 1), where the combination of fragments A (Pl. 4), B (Pl. 2), C, D, and E gives [*C(aius) Iuli*]*us Se*[*x(ti) f(ilius), C(aii) n*]*ep(os), V*[*ol*]*t(inia tribu), Sẹ*[*r*]*en//*[*us*]. As the second line can be read: [*praef*]*ec*[*t*]*us alae V*[*II Phry*]*gu*[*m*], it becomes possible from what is recorded elsewhere of his *cursus* to complete the first line of the building inscription [*us*

IIIvir sacerdos Romae et]*A̧*[*ug(usti)*]; cf. fragment H.[88] More importantly, enough is preserved of fragments A + B (Pls. 4, 2) to indicate a reference in line 3 to work on walls, presumably restoration or embellishment: ...]*s et pa̧*[*r*]*ietes su*+[...]. If this work was carried out at the temple complex and supported by his benefactions, the historical context of the renovations commemorated in the building inscription would be Trajanic.[89]

iii. A Regional Temple?

To the west of the *cardo maximus* of Lugdunum Convenarum, immediately south-east of the inferred *forum novum*,[90] vestiges of a hexastyle temple open onto a large court bordered on three sides by wide porticos. To judge from its architecture and decoration, construction of this complex began at the end of the first century B.C. and continued into the first or second decades A.D.[91] Surviving remains, partly covered by modern buildings and roads,[92] consist of a *podium* that supported a *pronaos* and a square *cella*, but there is no trace of a staircase whether centrally or at either of the sides.[93] In the axis of the temple, 3.5m from its entrance, stands a massive square structure dated by stratigraphy to the closing phase of work on the temple enclosure. Its position, matched at numerous other sanctuaries, suggests that the block may have been the base of an elevated altar to which one mounted by a stairway, but it has been proposed alternatively that the structure supported a statue group as possibly at Aventicum, in which case the altar would presumably have stood on the intermediate platform before the temple facade.[94] The temple itself was built in stone and remained in use down to the first half of the fourth century, but at some stage the courtyard underwent a second phase of development when it was enlarged on the three sides with porticos and the enclosing wall embellished with a facing; the original stone porticos were at this time replaced by collonades in marble. Although the available stratigraphic data do not provide a Trajanic level,[95] the fragmentary building inscription found re-used in the vicinity refers to walls (*ILTG* 81, Pl. 1), so conceivably attests that these modifications took place under Trajan. Of interest in this connection are three pedestals placed in the portico in front of the temple altar, perpendicular to the axis of the temple. Given that inscriptions referring to Trajan, Plotina (*ILTG* 70, 74=*AE*, 1997, 1091–2) and the benefactor Serenus (*ILTG* 76–8, 81=*AE*, 1997, 1094–6, 1093) were found nearby in the foundations of later structures superimposed on the east branch of the portico, it has been suggested that the bases might have supported statues of these three notables, though certainly the dedication to Plotina does not fit any of the pedestals discovered *in situ*.[96]

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[88] Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 110, 176–7. The authors believe that a trace of the initial letter of *C(aii)* is preserved in a fragment of unknown provenance (G.i, 51).

[89] But see Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 110, cautioning that since most of the epigraphical fragments were found re-used in the walls of later structures of the east branch of the portico, it is not entirely certain that the benefaction of C. Iulius Serenus was linked with the architecture of the temple and its enclosure.

[90] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 61–2, 115, 118.

[91] May (1986) 93–7 with plans pp. 94, 96; Guyon (1991) 92, cf. p. 90 with plan; Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 11–119 wth figs. 4, 59; plan 1.

[92] Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 117.

[93] For the plan of the temple with approximate estimate of its measurements see *Eid.*, *o.c.* 103–6, 117–18, noting that the latest view proposes two lateral staircases before the temple facade leading to a platform from which one ascended by a frontal staircase to the *pronaos*.

[94] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 114, note that several fragmentary plaques adorned with bands of wreaths

As for the function of the temple, no dedication survives although remnants of bronze letters were found nearby.[97] Nothing goes to show the structure could have been a Capitolium,[98] but its proximity to the supposed *forum novum*, the possible erection of imperial statues in one of the porticos, the similarity of some of its elements to those of the larger Maison Carée at Nîmes, above all the circumstance that inscriptions found re-used in the vicinity attest the priesthood of Roma and Augustus (above), support the hypothesis that this was a temple of the imperial cult at the heart of the capital of the Convenae.[99] It is true that early municipal cults were sometimes based on an altar, as notably

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and bucrania have been found in the area where re-used inscriptions attesting priests of Roma and Augustus came to light. Though stylistically dating from the late Julio-Claudian or Flavian period, these motifs recall similar ornamentation on the altars at Lugdunum, Tarraco and the Ara Pacis in Rome. Whether new or a restoration of old reliefs, then, this iconographic evidence tends to support the view that the massive base was associated with an altar.

[95] Guyon (1991) 97.

[96] Badie–Sablayrolles-Schenk (1994) 110, 170–84 (nos. 3–8=*ILTG* 70, 74, 81, 76, 77–8), noting that the attempt of B. Sapène to connect these inscriptions with the three bases rests solely on the topographical proximity of evidence discovered in re-use.

[97] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 107–8 with fig. 107, summarizing the range of solutions that have been proposed.

[98] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 115.

[99] See, however, *eid.*, *o.c.* 110, stressing the weakness of associating the temple with the inscriptions of the imperial cult on the basis of topographical proximity.

at Tarraco, but parallel temples exist at Carthago Nova, Emerita and Pola, for instance. On the other hand, the fact that Hadrianic inscriptions attest priests of Roma and Augustus excludes any possibility the temple could have been dedicated to Gaius and Lucius Caesar as at Nîmes or for that matter to Divus Augustus, much less Victoria.[100]

iv. The Inscription of Hasparren

Lastly, a rustic inscription found at Hasparren, the principal community in the *civitas* of the Tarbelli, records in four hexameter verses that Q. Magister Verus, a local notable who had served as *flamen* and *duumvir*, *quaestor* and *magister* of the *pagus*,[101] went as ambassador to the emperor and on his return from Rome dedicated to the *genius* of the *pagus* the altar on which the text is inscribed:[102]

> *flamen item | du[u]mvir quaestor | pagiq[ue] magister | Verus ad Augus|tum legato mu|nere functus | pro novem opti|nuit populis se|iungere Gallos | Urbe redux Ge|nio pagi hanc | dedicat aram.* (*CIL* 13, 412 = *ILS* 6961)

What precisely the embassy succeeded in negotiating remains to be determined,[103] but it seems clear from the awkward, late Latin usage *seiungere Gallos* that in some sense Verus obtained the separation of the "Nine Peoples" from the Gauls.[104] Quite apart from this text, L. Maurin argues that the independence of the "Nine Peoples" is confirmed by inscriptions at the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum attesting that at spectacles in the amphitheatre representatives on the *concilium* of Tres Galliae were seated *provinciatim* in alphabetical order.[105] As the names of the Auscii and Bigerri, who certainly belonged to the "Nine Peoples", perhaps also that of the Aturenses-Tarusates, are missing between the names of the Arverni and Bituriges Cubi (*CIL* 13, 1667a-b), it would appear that the "Nine Peoples" did not at this time form part of the assembly of *legati* drawn from the communities of Tres Galliae. In support of this inference commentators have repeatedly noted the particular characteristics that set apart the peoples south of the Garonne, a region of Aquitania not known to have produced a priest of the Three Gauls.[106]

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[100] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 116.

[101] For the local career of Verus see Bost-Fabre (1988) 172, taking the *cursus* to be given in descending order, last first.

[102] For the background and characteristics of the text see Bost–Fabre (1988) 169–72 with photographs, noting that a prose version of the metrical text might have once existed on another face of the altar. On the invocation of the *genius pagi* see Chastagnol (1980) 195–6; Bost–Fabre (1988) 172.

[103] For discussion see Maurin (1972) 5–10; Chastagnol (1980) 195; Bost–Fabre (1988) 173–8.

[104] For Mommsen's hesitation between *seiungere* and *se iungere* see Bost–Fabre (1988) 174.

[105] Maurin (1978) 200, citing Audin–Guey–Wuilleumier (1954) 320.

As it presently stands, the available evidence looks open to divergent interpretations. The first would be that the "Nine Peoples" were *ab initio* a separate entity from the federal organization of the Gallic *civitates* and, as such, paid cult locally at Lugdunum Convenarum rather than at the sanctuary by the Confluence; this situation would date from the time when Augustus detached the Convenae from Narbonensis and placed them with the "Nine Peoples" of Aquitania, the number of whom tends to fluctuate from one period to another (Strabo 4, 177; cf. Pliny, *NH* 4, 108; Ptol., *Geogr.* 2, 7).[107] Such a reconstruction would accord with evidence for a council that was in some way associated with the repair of the temple or its precinct in the period *ca* A.D. 100–20, also with the absence of representatives of the "Nine Peoples" either among federal priests or among the names inscribed on reserved seats at the amphitheatre. On this view the Hasparren inscription documents that an ambassador sent to Rome by the organization of the "Nine Peoples" expressed their wish to be separated from the Gauls—that is, from Aquitania north of the Garonne—and obtained the creation of a new province which recognized at the administrative level a distinction already existing at the cultic. Given the absence of any trace of the *provincia Novempopulana* or its functionaries under the High Empire, the text itself would date from, say, the middle or the second half of the third century, in any event some time before the reign of Diocletian.[108]

v. An *Ara Convenarum*?

Against this interpretation it may be objected in the first place that, if a regional cult dates from the reign of Augustus, analogy demands that it would have centred on an altar established in all probability by a member of the imperial house;[109] notable parallels exist at Lugdunum by the Confluence of the Rhone and Saône, among the Ubii by modern Cologne, apparently on the Elbe, perhaps also among the Lingones (above, pp. 9–23). No trace of this initial stage is preserved in the sources, not that this is fatal in itself. As the cult of Roma and Augustus is certainly attested at a later period and a *tropaeum* of Victory, a theme linked with the federal altar by the other Lugdunum, existed at Lugdunum Convenarum from at least a decade before construction of the temple,[110] it has been suggested that an earlier cult based on an altar might have existed in the eastern sector of the city, perhaps located in the conjectured *forum vetus*, where ancient roads crossed in the area of the *macellum*.[111] Insightful as this proposal is, no evidence exists for such an *Ara Convenarum*, nor does a Victory trophy necessarily point to the existence of some form of imperial cult. Above all, the hypothesis implies that at some stage the centre of the regional cult will have been transferred from the altar to what looks earlier to have been the municipal temple at Lugdunum Convenarum, a step for which there is no parallel in the Latin west.

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[106] First noted by Hirschfeld, *CIL* 13, p. 228. So later Jullian (1908–26) 4, 433, n. 1; cf. 441, n. 8; Aymard (1941) 232–3; Maurin (1972) 7 with n. 28; Étienne (1974) 171; Maurin (1986) 117. See further Richard (1991) 207.

[107] Aymard (1941) 232–3; Maurin (1972) 8–9; (1978) 200; Etienne (1974) 170–1.

[108] Maurin (1972) 7, 9–10; (1978) 200.

vi. An Inconclusive Case

The thesis would be supported by *ILTG* 81 (= *AE*, 1997, 1093, Pl. 1) should the text refer to a *concilium*, inferentially of the "Nine Peoples", but that argument hinges entirely on restoring N in *cọ[n]c̣ị[li(i)/o?*; as we have noted, this presumes that a lost piece, conjecturally placed between fragment B and fragment G on line 4 (Pls. 2, 3) recorded a single letter. In practice, however, this is not the only possible restoration. Aymard's proposed completions … *co[nv(entus)] ci(vium) [R(omanorum)]* or *Co[nv(enarum)] ci[vitatis]* have found little support,[112] but other options along similar lines are conceivable. Here it should be noted that Wuilleumier's fragment B is misleading in that the letters CO and C̣Ị appear to belong to the same remnant.[113] In point of fact the letters C̣Ị are preserved on a separate segment (G), the left edge of which at no point coincides with the bottom right hand edge of fragment B. Quite clearly one or more sections, now lost, must have intervened and on these would have been engraved the one or more missing letters between CỌ and C̣Ị. The restoration *cọ[n]c̣ị[li(i)/o* is based on the supposition that the lost intervening piece will have preserved a single letter, conjecturally restored as N, yet nothing excludes the possibiity that more than one letter was recorded or that fragment G (Pl. 3) should be placed further to the right on the bottom line of the text. As a glance at the inscriptions of Lugdunum Convenarum makes clear, a common combination of the letters CO and CI is in the name *civitas Convenarum*, which appears in various abbreviations.[114] While no certainty can be claimed, it may be suggested that the fourth line of the combined fragments B and G could equally well have read *cọ[nv(enarum)] c̣ị[vit(ati)* or similar.[115] To restore a reference to the *Convenarum civitas*, perhaps in the dative after [*re*]*stitu*[*it*?],[116] would in that case remove all grounds for supposing a council of the "Nine Peoples". Whatever the value of this conjecture, it at least serves to show that the restoration *cọ[n]c̣ị[li(i)/o* is extremely precarious.

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[109] Rightly noted by Maurin (1972) 8, though without refererence to the requisite altar. The point is developed by Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 113–14, who note that to link the hypothetical cult paid by the "Nine Peoples" with the temple would be entirely exceptional.

[110] Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 114.

[111] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 118–19.

[112] Aymard (1943) 181–2.; cf. *ILTG* 81.

[113] Cf. May (1986) 166, no. 96, fragment b, to which the same criticism applies.

As for the seating arrangements at the federal amphitheatre, Maurin could well be right in inferring that the "Nine Peoples" were not accommodated, so will have been excluded from the federal organization at the Confluence. Alternatively, if the tribes south of the Garonne were a separate, coherent group from the beginning, as looks to have been the case, they may have been seated (alphabetically?) en bloc—separately from the other tribes of Aquitania. The argument is in any event indecisive. Current lack of any federal priest elected from the "Nine Peoples" is likewise inconclusive. We have at the moment perhaps forty-two priests in the period from 12 B.C. to about the middle of the third century, so about one sixth of the total.[117] These represent some eighteen out of the sixty (Strabo, 4, 3, 2) or sixty-four (Tac., *Ann.* 3, 44) Gallic *civitates* that participated in the cult at the federal sanctuary, so in this perspective the absence of an appointee from the tribes south of the Garonne could simply be an accident of the surviving record or even a reflection of the inherent aloofness of the "Nine Peoples". On the other hand to interpret the Hasparren text in terms of a separation of the "Nine Peoples" from the Gauls seems entirely possible[118]—what other sense can be made of *pro novem optinuit populis seiungere Gallos*?—though whether this implies that a new province came into existence at this stage is another matter. Novempopulana is generally thought to have been created as a result of the wide-sweeping reform of Diocletian and the unity of the province of Aquitania remained to all appearances unbroken down to the reign of Diocletian: that is, posterior to the embassy of Verus.[119]

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[114] Cf. *CIL* 13, 255: *civit(atis)*?] *Conv(enarum)*; *C.* 254: *civitas Conven(arum)*; *C.* 8889: *c(ivitas) C(onvenarum)*. For an inventory of the inscriptions of Lugdunum Convenarum see May (1986) 155–70.

[115] 118. Cf. May (1986) 36, n. 88, citing Aymard (1943) 181 with the restitution *co*[*nv(enarum)*] *ci*[*vitatis*]. In one of the contemporary inscriptions attesting C. Iulius Serenus (*ILTG* 76 = *AE*, 1997, 1094) the A and E of *alae* are joined by ligatures (line 5), so the posible use of ligatures in *ILTG* 81 (= *AE*, 1997, 1093) cannot be excluded even though none ocur in the preserved remnants of the text. For the combination of N and V by ligatures see Cagnat (1914) 25.

[116] Wuilleumier's version of *ILTG* 81 includes a fragment d which conceivably records part of the words *crep*]*idin*[*em*] | ... [*re*]*stitu*[*it/erunt*]. The pertinence of the piece was doubted by Wuilleumier himself, and it is omitted in the version of Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 173–9, cf. 110. The possibility that the fourth line of the text could have included the verb *restituit* or *refecit* (preceded by a dative of advantage?) remains open nonetheless.

A variation on this reconstruction would be to suppose that the "Nine Peoples" originally participated in the cult at the Confluence but *at some later stage* secured the establishment of a separate centre at Lugdunum Convenarum. This is the interpretation of A. Chastagnol, who understands the Hasparren inscription in the sense that Verus obtained from the court "que les 'Neuf peuples' du sud de la Garonne ... fassent sécession de l'organisation lyonnaise des Gaules et n'envoient plus leurs légats au Conseil fédéral du Confluent".[120] No date is suggested—"l'inscription reste malheureusement de date imprécise"[121]—but the later creation of the province of Novempopulana would in that case be an initiative of the central administration, which simply capitalized on an existing cultic division.

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[117] Vol. III, 2, 60–8.

[118] So rightly Maurin (1972) 7.

[119] Bost–Fabre (1988) 173–4.

[120] Chastagnol (1980) 196.

[121] Chastagnol (1980) 198, n. 21, remarking that the Hasparren inscription has been placed under Domitian by Etienne, in the second century by Jullian, in the early third century by Grenier, and about the middle of the third century by Maurin (a view that goes back to Mommsen): Étienne (1971) 75; cf. Higounet (1973) 37–8 (R. Étienne); Jullian (1902) 46 with Pl. II; Grenier (1937) 435–6; Maurin (1972) 9; cf. 6 with n. 23 and ref., observing that on epigraphical grounds the text could belong anywhere in the first three centuries A.D. For an exhaustive outline of attempts to date the inscription see Bost–Fabre (1988) 168–9.

The view has less drawbacks than to postulate a regional organization from the start. In particular, it eliminates the need for an inferred original altar; the lack of federal priests from the "Nine Peoples" would be unremarkable if the secession had taken place, say, at the end of the first or early in the second century;[122] if the tribes south of the Garonne were no longer represented at the Confluence, they could hardly have had reserved seats at the federal amphitheatre;[123] and the despatch of an embassy to Rome on a matter of cultic practice can certainly be paralleled (below, p. 38). On the other hand this modified version repeats the implausible assumption that what must initially have been a municipal temple at Lugdunum Convenarum was suddenly converted into the centre of a regional cult. More fundamentally, the whole argument turns once again on the restoration *cọ[n]c̣ị[li(i)/o* in line 4 (fragment B + G), for apart from this vexed completion there is essentially nothing to suggest the existence of a separate cult centre at Lugdunum Convenarum. In particular, nothing goes to show that C. Iulius Serenus or any other locally attested priest of Roma and Augustus served a regional rather than a municipal cult. All the inscriptions show is that a cult of Roma and Augustus existed at Lugdunum Convenarum. Here it might be added that the term *sacerdos* as opposed to *flamen* is in no way decisive. More particularly, the use of the title *sacerdos* does not allow one to identify a provincial as opposed to a municipal cult, for while it is true that in Tres Galliae a municipal priest is frequently termed *flamen*, there are certainly examples of local *sacerdotes*.[124] These have sometimes been taken for federal priests, yet the absence in the priestly formula of any reference to the Confluence or its monuments in a priesthood that is in some cases patently part of a local *cursus* surely confirms that such *sacerdotes* of Roma and Augustus are local not federal appointees.[125] With no hint, then, in the Hasparren text of any connection with the federal cult centred at Lugdunum the interpretation of Chastagnol looks unfounded.

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[122] Only five federal priests are definitely recorded down to the end of the Flavian period, with another seven who look to fall in the period from Vespasian to Hadrian.

[123] For the point that elements of tiers inscribed with the names of Gallic tribes belong to the later amphitheatre, enlarged in first half of the second century see Vol. III, 3, 122.

[124] See Vol. III, 2, 27–35. For local *flamines* see Maurin (1972) 7, n. 26 with refs.; further discussion in Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 111–12, citing a municipal priestess at Castulo termed *flaminica sive sacerdos* (*CIL* 2, 3278); cf. Vibia Modesta, *bis flaminica sacerdos* at Italica (*ERI* 22 *ter*).

[125] Maurin (1972) 6, n. 24 with refs., refers to Aymard's observation that local records of federal priests regularly include a geographical reference to the meeting of the Rhone and the Saône, but notes that this is sometimes missing in inscriptions found

vii. The Creation of Novempopulana

The most convincing explication of the Hasparren inscription is that of J.-P. Bost and G. Fabre, who demonstrate in the first place that the embassy of Verus must have taken place before A.D. 285, if not 282, since Aquitania was divided into two provinces under Diocletian; the evidence for this is the term *Novem Populi*, which appears *ca.* 312 in the list of Verona.[126] No earlier document attests the separation of the area south of the Garonne from the rest of Aquitania and the combined testimony of the inscriptions goes to show that Aquitania retained its territorial integrity down to this time. As the Hasparren text can hardly refer to the creation of a financial and military district appropriate to a group of people within Aquitania as a whole, the authors take the inscription to document the agreement of the emperor to separate the "Nine Peoples" administratively from the Gauls, in other words within the boundaries of a separate province. But this arrangement did not come into effect immediately. The text simply records an immediate response to a local claim, whereas the creation of the new province occurred later in the course of the far-reaching programme of reforms that saw the break-up of larger territoires into smaller units called dioceses. The gap between the successful mission of Verus' embassy on the one hand and the implementation of the emperor's promise on the other is to be explained by the particular circumstances under which the embassy went to Rome and gained audience with a single Augustus.[127] In practice this could have taken place only between 222 and 244 or in the period 270/274–282—more probably the latter. In that case, if the mission of Verus occured under Aurelian or Probus, it will have been linked with the desertion of Tetricus to Aurelian, a surrender that contributed to the collapse of the Gallic empire at Châlons in 274.

That the loyalty which the tribes south of the Garonne had shown to the legitimate ruler should be rewarded by the outcome of Verus'

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at the Confluence itself. Here, however, it could well have been considered superfluous.

[126] Bost–Fabre (1988) 173–8. For the Verona list see *eid.*, *o.c.* 173, n. 36 with refs.

[127] For the convincing view that Verus will have pleaded the cause of the "Nine Peoples" before the emperor himself see Bost–Fabre (1988) 173, n. 35.

embassy seems a reasonable inference. The uncertainty of the political and military climate would then explain why nothing came of it for the moment, for everything suggests that the province of Novempopulana was created later under Diocletian—independently of the request of its inhabitants but in conformity with their earlier wishes which happily coincided with the plans of the central administration. All this looks by far the most plausible interpretation of the altar of Hasparren and the background of its inscription, yet Bost–Fabre consistently maintain that the embassy of Verus was initiated by the *concilium* of the Nine Peoples at Lugdunum Convenarum, which supposedly convened a legation made up of the foremost magistrates of each *civitas* under the leadership of Verus.[128] As argued above, the existence of such a *concilium* is very uncertain, at least on present evidence, nor is there any need to suppose that the prior decison of such a conjectural body is necessarily entailed by the mission of Verus. As it happens, there are several instances where an entire province arrived on an isolated occasion at a common decision to send an embassy to Rome—in each case before a provincial *concilium* even existed. In particular, in A.D. 15 the Spaniards of Hither Spain asked permission to build a temple to Divus Augustus at Tarraco (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 78); in 2 B.C./A.D. 14 Baetica set up an image of some sort on the Forum Augustum in Rome (*CIL* 6, 31267)[129]; and in A.D. 25 the same province sent to Rome a legation which unsuccessfully sought permission to set up a provincial temple to Tiberius and Livia after the example of Asia (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37). As these episodes plainly show, the "Nine Peoples" could have agreed to send an embassy to Rome requesting their separation from the Gauls without any need for the guiding hand of a regional council.

viii. A Civic Cult at Lugdunum Convenarum

We are left with the conclusion that no evidence has so far accrued that definitely confirms the existence of a regional cult, a regional centre, a regional council, or regional priests. On the contrary the temple at Lugdunum Convenarum, orginally erected in the Augustan period, looks decidely municipal and must have so remained when it was possibly restored in the Trajanic period by the benefactions of C. Iulius

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[128] Bost–Fabre (1988) 172–4, 175 with n. 70, 177, accepting the Augustan foundation of a regional cult and *concilium* centred at Lugdunum Convenarum.

[129] See further below, p. 47 with n. 28.

Serenus. Like the one or more other priests of Roma and Augustus who are attested by local inscriptions, this wealthy knight was a municipal priest of his *patria*.[130] In the lack of convincing testimony to the contrary, therefore, the thesis of an intermunicipal cult of the "Nine Peoples" centred on Lugdunum Convenarum looks untenable. The idea itself is by no means historically implausible but at the present time there seems to be no hard evidence one can enlist in its support.[131] Should fresh data accrue to lift the discussion to a new level, this interim verdict will naturally require revision. In the meantime it remains an outstanding difficulty that positive testimony has yet to attest any participation on the part of the tribes south of the Garonne in the federal organization at the Confluence.[132] To all appearances they were excluded from the assembly of the Three Gauls yet had no corresponding centre of their own to serve as a common focus of regional or intermunicipal worship.

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[130] So Aymard (1943) 149–55; Frei-Stolba (1994) 48, n. 57.

[131] See the succint overview of Badie–Sablayrolles–Schenk (1994) 112–13.

[132] See further Vol. III, 2, 56.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEIFIED EMPEROR: PROVINCIAL CULTS (A.D. 14–69)

The second stage in the evolution of provincial ruler worship runs from the accession of Tiberius to the year of revolution that put the Flavians on the throne.[1] Apart from the development in Britannia, where the opening phase of a provincial cult seems to have followed the pattern set in Gallia Comata and elsewhere, the distinguishing feature of the period is the institution of the cult of the deified Augustus in the Romanized provinces of Hispania citerior and Lusitania. That this was at the request of the Spaniards themselves seems clear at least in Hither Spain, which according to Tacitus sent an embassy to Rome on the matter in A.D. 15 (*Ann.* 1, 78). It is important to note that this is one of only two instances in the entire history of western provincial cult when the sources expressly confirm spontaneous action on the part of the provincials.[2] No such delegation is recorded from Lusitania, possibly because the initial step of Hither Spain with the response it elicited from the Roman central government set an example for other provinces to follow, as Tacitus appears to say (*ibid.*). Otherwise the federal cult of the Three Gauls, as they were later called, continued in the direction already set at Lugdunum, where construction of an amphitheatre at the close of Augustus' reign or shortly thereafter marked a significant advance in the evolution of the federal cult and its associated activities. Contrary to what has sometimes been supposed, however, there is no evidence at this point for a provincial cult in Noricum, where such a development must in any event have succeeded the dissolution of the *regnum Noricum* and the conversion of the eastern Alps into a province under Claudius.

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[1] For rejection of any evolution in provincial cults see the unsupported assertion of Le Roux (1994) 401, that the imperial religion, "essentiellement augustéene dans ses fondements, a touché dès le départ toutes les provinces sans autre adaptation que culturelle".

[2] For the unsuccessful request of Baetica to erect a temple to Tiberius and Livia in A.D. 25 see below, pp. 111–12.

The background to the new cult of Divus Augustus in Hither Spain and Lusitania was the deification of Augustus in Rome, where the senate's act of consecration on 17 September, A.D. 17, regulated his cult, priesthood and temple.[3] Worship of the deified ruler was a key element, of course, in the influences from Egypt and the Greek east that played a vital role in shaping the political and religious climate of Augustan Rome. A state cult of the deified ruler appears in Ptolemaic Egypt as early as the reign of Ptolemy II and seems to have spread from there to Seleucid Syria and possibly elsewhere.[4] But recent analysis has been at pains to demonstrate that the communal cult of the *divi* is firmly rooted in native Roman practice, specifically the collective cult of ancestors, the *di parentes*.[5] R. Turcan in particular has shown that the deification of the deceased Roman emperor is not an effect of the "orientalization" of the masses, as F. Cumont thought, but rather a continuation of the traditional deification of the dead.[6] Plutarch, for example, drawing on Varro (*Quaes. Rom.* 14), reports that the ancient custom at funerals was for sons to surround their father's tomb, revering this as a temple of the gods, then when they first came across a bone, after the corpse had been incinerated, to declare that the deceased was now a god.[7] It follows that in his capacity as *pontifex maximus* and *pater patriae*, the emperor will have acted as the *paterfamilias* of the Roman people in offering to his predecessors, related whether by blood or by office, the domestic cult due to ancestral *imagines*. Against this traditional background, then, one can well understand that Tiberius, acutely aware he was far outshone by Augustus, was quick to deflect attention away from his own person,[8] and that the senate of which he was a member rather encouraged the cult of Divus Augustus[9]—especially when, as in the case of Hither Spain, the initiative for a provincial cult came from below.

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[3] Vol. I, 1, 161–2; Price (1987) 73–4, 77–82. For the Julio-Claudian background see in general Clauss (1999) 76–111 (to be used with caution).

[4] Vol. I, 13–20.

[5] Vol. I, 1, 51.

[6] Turcan, Culte (1998) 99–106. See in general Clauss (1999) 41–2.

[7] Rose (1924) 125, 174–5. On the procedure see Turcan, Culte (1998) 103 with nn. 87–8 and refs.

[8] Vol. I, 1, 158–9.

[9] Vol. I, 1, 163.

Hispania citerior

The earliest phase of the provincial cult of Hither Spain is controversial, its outline barely recoverable amid the jumble of conflicting *testimonia.* The central text is Tacitus' report that in A.D. 15 an embassy of Spaniards was given permission to build a temple to Augustus at the colony of Tarraco—plainly, then, to Divus Augustus given the date: *templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum datumque in omnes provincias exemplum* (*Ann.* 1, 78).[10] Whatever the implication of *datumque in omnes provincias exemplum*, this text has usually been taken to document official permission to build a provincial temple at the capital of Hispania citerior, a step which would consequently mark the inauguration of the provincial cult. In apparent confirmation of this inference a series of *dupondii* issued at Tarraco under Tiberius show on their reverses an octostyle temple with the legend AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE and C(*olonia*) V(*rbs*) T(*riumphalis*) T(*arraco*), on the obverses either a seated figure of Divus Augustus with DEO AVGVSTO or the radiate head of Augustus with DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER.[11] The attribution of the temple to Augustan Eternity, like the legend DEO AVGVSTO,[12] presumably reflects early ambivalence regarding the formula appropriate to the deified first emperor.

i. The "Temple of Augustus"

Both the literary and numismatic sources have traditionally been associated with traces of a temple that lay somewhere on the top level of the three terraces which lie to the north-east of the colony. Monumental vestiges from this region go back to the Middle Ages and have steadily accrued over the intervening centuries in the form of fragmentary columns and assorted architectural and iconographic fragments nowadays dispersed in various museums or even built into the cathedral walls.[13] Until recently it had been supposed, primarily on the basis of pottery from the cathedral garden, that the temple was begun under Tiberius and reached completion perhaps under Claudius or Nero.[14] An obvious corollary of this dating is that the representation on the coins must therefore show a *projected* rather than a completed temple, not that this presents any difficulty;[15] Rome itself presents numerous examples of temples constructed over an extended period.[16] At all events the combined evidence seemed to place the beginning of the provincial cult of Hither Spain under Tiberius and to indicate that worship was paid in the first place to Divus Augustus. Epigraphical confirmation of this conclusion is lacking as the first records of provincial priests do not begin until early under Vespasian, when the priestly title is *flamen Romae, Divorum et Augustorum provinciae Hispaniae citerioris* or variant,[17] but it seemed significant that in the neighbouring province of Lusitania inscriptions firmly document a provincial cult which focussed initially on Divus Augustus followed in due course by Diva Augusta and presumably Divus Claudius (below, pp. 53–4, 59–60). In addition coins issued at Emerita, the capital of Lusitania, show on their reverses a tetrastyle temple with AETERNITATI AVGVSTAE, a type plainly modelled on the Tarraco *dupondii.*[18] With substantial comparative evidence to draw on, then, the thesis of a Julio-Claudian provincial cult of Hispania Ulterior, originally addressed to Divus Augustus, looked firmly established.

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[10] Fishwick, Temple of Augustus (1999) 121. See further below, Vol. III, 3, 5.

[11] The obverse of a similar issue differs in showing the laureate head of Tiberius with TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVSTVS. See Vol. I, 1, pp. 151–2 with n. 8 and Pl. XXVII; *RPC* 1, 1, 104–5, nos. 219, 222, 224, 226 (Pl. 16).

[12] For the point that *divus* was a subcategory of *deus*, so that a consecrated emperor could perfectly well be termed *deus*—especially in the early days of the ruler cult—see Price (1987) 77, 79.

[13] TED'A, Foro (1989) 142–9 with bibl. and figs. 1, 2: cf. *eid.*, Abocador (1989) 25–48 with bibl. and fig. 7 (35), fig. 9 (39); Mar (1993) 107–11.

This whole picture has now been thrown into disarray by archaeological investigation of the upper city of Tarraco undertaken by the Taller Escola d'Arqueologica de Tarragona (TEDA). What exploration has revealed is that the three levels of this zone were the site of a vast enclave of *ca.* 11 hectares,[19] generally recognized to have been the provincial centre of Tarraco (Vol. III, 3, Pls. 74–5).[20] The most striking conclusion of their work, however, is that the beginning of any construction in the area should be dated much later than previously supposed. Further excavations in 1984 and 1986 at a site in the Calle Sant Llorenç, just north-west of the portico on the east side of the temple *temenos*, along with a revised analysis of the pottery from the cloister garden have led the TEDA to infer that the enclave should rather be assigned to the years A.D. 69–70.[21] If so, the edifice on the upper terrace will have been built in conjunction with the project as a whole, so can hardly be the building for which the embassy of Spaniards received authorization in A.D. 15. The temple on the coins must therefore be a municipal structure,[22] in which case it was in all probability located on the lower forum of the colony,[23] quite possibly in the vicinity of the Capitolium, where its construction will have formed part of the intensive building programme that can be documented in the Augustan / Julio-Claudian period.[24] It follows that the beginning of the provincial cult must now be placed in the Flavian period, a date that coincides with the earliest epigraphical records of provincial priests from the middle terrace.[25]

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[14] Sánchez Real (1969); Rüger (1968); Hauschild (1972–4) 40–1. See further Mar (1993) 111ff.

[15] Vol. I, 1, p. 152, n. 17. So too Gimeno (1994) 62 with n. 68 and refs., though the use of architectural models as the basis for numismatic types seems not to be documented.

[16] Comparative data from Rome, in particular construction of the temples of Divus Iulius, Apollo and Mars Ultor under Augustus, of Divus Augustus under Tiberius, or the re-building of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus under Vespasian, suggest that construction could last anything from five to twenty-five years or more. See Gros (1976) 65–7; further Vol. III, 3, 23–4 with detailed discussion.

[17] Alföldy (1973) 46–9.

[18] Vol. I, 1, p. 156, nn. 44–5 with refs. and Pl. XXXVI; Gil (1966) 441, 446, 468, 470; cf. Beltrán (1953) 54–5; *id.* (1976) 97, 102–3.

[19] TED'A, Foro (1989) 151–7; Abocador (1989) 437–40; Dupré (1990) 319–25; Mar (1993) 113–28; precise measurements of the provincial complex in Cortés (1987) 10–13. For a helpful outline see now Jiménez (1994) 247; Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 74–83.

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[20] *Contra* Trillmich, Fiktion (1993) 115–24, noting that the term "provincial forum" or "forum Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris" does not exist in the ancient sources; (1996) 181–3. Le Roux (1994) 399, accepts that "... la colline consacré au sanctuaire et au forum impérial" was not occupied before the Flavians but follows Trillmich in doubting the existence of a specialized place for celebrations of the provincial cult (402, 404–5). For a reply see Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 169–86, noting that Trillmich rightly insists that such formulations are modern inventions; see further Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 52–3. For a general overview of the debate see Jiménez (1994) 246 with n. 9; further in general Vol. III, 3.

[21] TED'A, Foro (1989) 157–60; Dupré (1990) 322–3, 324 with refs.; Dupré–Carreté *et al.* (1993) 115. For a chart of more recent archaeological excavations within the provincial centre see TED'A, Abocador (1989) fig. 8 (facing p. 38).

[22] TED'A, Abocador (1989) 439–40 with refs.; Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 124, 128–32; *id.* (1993) 98, n. 20; Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 27, 32, noting that this temple is not documented archaeologically.

[23] For a detailed picture see recently Cortés (1987) 13–24 with refs.; Mar–Ruiz de Arbulo (1987) 31–44 with refs.

[24] The lower forum of the colony (Vol. II, 1, Pl. XCIVb) was the site of a triumphal arch, the celebrated "Altar of Augustus", an *aedes Augusti* or *Augusteum* in the *basilica* (where stood a Julio-Claudian, later also an Antonine circle of imperial statues), also the *podium* of an unidentified temple north-east of the supposed position of the Capitolium. See Vol. I, 1, 171–9; Koppel, Skulpturen (1985), cf. now *ead.*, Foro (2000); TED'A, Abocador (1989) 439–40 with refs.; Dupré (1987) 28 with bibl., n. 11.; *id.*, Arcos honoríficos (1994); Arc romà (1994) 263; (1995) 359; Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 124, 128–32; *id.* (1993) 94–5, 98, n. 20; Pensabene (1993) 100; Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 32, 69, 137; Solé (2000) 90–106 with fig. 13. On groups of imperial statues see in general Rose (1997). The bell with its curious inscription also originated from the lower forum: Vol. II, 1, 504–5, 526. For a

Innovative as it is, this entire reconstruction raises fundamental difficulties. In the first place construction of the temple on the uppermost terrace cannot possibly be assigned to A.D. 68/70. If work did not even begin before the Flavian period, the structure will hardly have been finished before the reign of Domitian at the earliest. But that is a minor point compared with the difficulties that accrue if the temple in Tacitus and on the coins is taken to be municipal. On the face of it Tacitus' reference to *Hispani* implies communal action on the part of the province rather than the town of Tarraco.[26] On the other hand, Tacitus can hardly refer to the *concilium* of Hispania citerior at a time when a provincial cult had not yet been brought into existence;[27] an isolated joint effort must rather be supposed on the lines of that of Baetica in 2 B.C./A.D. 14 (*CIL* 6, 31267=*ILS* 103) and again in A.D. 25 (Tac.,

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succint review of the principal issues at stake see Pensabene (1996) 197–8; Peña–Diaz (1996) 192 with n. 5; further Garriguet, Culto (1997) 51–2; Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 46–7 (cf. 50), suggesting that in the Julio-Claudian period the provincial *tabularium* will have been kept in or nearby the "Temple of Augustus". Mar–Roca i Roumens (1998) 120 with refs., combines the *aedes Augusti* with the *curia*. See further in general Wischel, Kaiserbildnisse (1995) 362.

[25] Alföldy (1973) 4–10; *id.*, *RE* Suppl. 14 (1978) cols. 597, 604, 619 with refs.; cf. *id.* (1991) 43–4.

[26] So Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 137, taking the province of Hispania citerior to have requested permission for a temple at Tarraco. In reporting the miracle of the palm tree which sprouted from the altar set up to Augustus at Tarraco, Quintilian refers to delegates from the colony by the formula *nuntiantibus Terraconensibus* (*De inst. orat.* 6, 3, 77). Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, first understand a provincial legation (354, cf. 356 with n. 123) but then confuse the issue by referring to Tarraco's request / gesture (356–7). Their suggestion that the request of the *Hispani* may have been prompted by the provincial governor is not impossible, though there is no evidence. The inference of Clauss (1999) 400–1, that the word implies joint action by all three Spanish provinces is surely impossible: there existed no federal cult of the Spains equivalent to that of the Three Gauls—despite the later occurence of the name *Hispaniae tres*; cf. Alföldy, *Provincia* (2000) 18.

[27] Deininger (1965) 28–9. But see Levick (1999) 75, suggesting that the *iura* Otho foreshadowed for Africa Proconsularis may have included the creation of a provincial council. This implausibly dates the existence of a *concilium* before the foundation of a provincial cult, no parallel for which occurs in the Latin west. For Tacitean formulations such as Mauri, Bithyni, Lycii, Afri *et al.* see Vol. I, 2, pp. 283–4, noting that such terms can refer to cities or groups of individuals. The famous altar set up to Augustus in his lifetime at Tarraco (Quint., *De inst. orat.* 6, 3, 77) cannot have been an altar of the provincial council as Clauss (1999) 400, suggests: see Vol. I, 1, 171–9.

Ann. 4, 37, 1).[28] In favour of this analysis is a patent difficulty with the purpose of the legation. If the intention was to build a municipal temple, why should permission from Rome be required at all[29]? Responsibility for such a decision rested with the civic authorities of Tarraco, not the Roman senate as implied by Tacitus' narrative.[30] It is surely significant that we know of municipal temples at Castulo, Ebora, Emerita, Saguntum and Carthago Nova, yet in not a single instance do the sources report an embassy to Rome.[31] It is true that under the Julio-Claudians we hear of embassies from Alexandria and Arsinoe, for example, that come to offer a temple to the living emperor Claudius or Nero, but in each case the city had already passed a decree to that effect and the formulaic refusal the legation received was so designed as not to rule out eventual acceptance of the honours offered.[32] In the same way embassies came often enough to inform the emperor of the *isotheoi*

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[28] In the latter part of Augustus' reign the province of Baetica dedicated to the emperor a gold offering of some sort, 100 lbs in weight (*CIL* 6, 31267): *Imp(eratori) Caesari | Aug(usto), P(atri) P(atriae), | Hispania ulterior | Baetica quod | beneficio eius et | perpetua cura | provincia pacata | est. Auri p(ondo) C(entum).* Whatever the image represented, its inscribed pedestal evidently stood on the Forum Augusti along with similar *tituli* from the other Spanish provinces: *Divus Augustus praeter Hispanias aliasque gentis, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet ...* (Vell. Pat. 39, 2). For discussion see Liverani (1997) 95 (reference kindly supplied by J. A. Garriguet Mata). It is noticeable that in reporting the legation of A.D. 25 Tacitus similarly uses the term Hispania ulterior. For the suggestion that the conventual structure will have facilitated the convening of occasional provincial embassies see Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 46–7 with n. 95. *Contra* Le Roux (1994) 398, inferring the existence of a provincial assembly of Hispania ulterior perhaps from the time of Augustus; cf. Étienne (1958) 416. But nowhere in the west does a provincial assembly seem to have predated a provincial cult, no trace of which occurs in Baetica under either Augustus or Tiberius (below, p. 111 with n. 53). More particularly, the posting of the Tabula Siarensis throughout the province will surely have been the responsibility of the provincial governor, cf. Corbier (2001) 317, so contrary to the view of Le Roux (1994) 408, n. 12, this in no way supports the possible existence of a provincial council. See Crawford (1996) 1, 518, citing Tab. Siar. frag. b., Col. II, lines 26–7: *eos quoque qui in provinci⟨i⟩s praessent recte atque ordine facturos si hoc s(enatus) c(onsultum) ded | isse⟨n⟩t operam ut quam celeberrumo loco figeretur.*

[29] Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 124 senses this point in suggesting that the city of Tarraco may have wanted to use provincial funds: "Se trata ... del templo que la ciudad solicitó levantar a Tiberio utilizando probablemente fondos provinciales". Presumably these would then be funds controlled by the provincial governor. But Tacitus makes no mention of funding and can hardly have approved such a request as an example to all the provinces.

[30] Vol. I, 1, p. 150, n. 3; Millar (1977) 345, taking the request to have come from the imperial province of Tarraconensis and to have been granted by the senate.

[31] Étienne (1958) 219–22.

[32] Habicht (1973) 76–88. See in general Fishwick, Maecenas (1990) 271–2 with nn. 22–5 and refs.

timai which a city had granted him[33]—that of Mytilene, for instance, reached Augustus when he was convalescing at Tarraco *ca.* 26 B.C.[34]

A further incongruity is the identification of the octostyle temple on the coins as a civic structure. The only temple which supposedly conforms in this respect is that of Roma and Augustus at Lepcis Magna. All other early municipal temples of which the details are known are either hexastyle as at Emerita, Barcino, Evora, Vienna and Ostia, or tetrastyle as Pola, Carthago Nova and on the Magdalensberg—if, as probably the case, this is an unfinished local temple of the imperial cult (below, 68–73).[35] Simply on the basis of this architectonic criterion, therefore, the octostyle temple portrayed on the Tarraco coins looks more probably provincial than municipal. One wonders too why a city that so enthusiastically promoted the ruler cult would have waited until after the death of Augustus before proposing a municipal temple. Elsewhere in Spain, a civic temple to Augustus at Emerita—the so-called "Temple of Diana"—is now thought to belong to the foundation period of the colony (therefore Augustan)[36] and a temple to Augustus likewise in his lifetime looks to be solidly attested at Carthago Nova by a coin.[37] At Tarraco we have no direct evidence for a municipal temple[38] but such an edifice would surely have been more appropriate in Augustus' lifetime at the city famed for the altar it set up on the occasion of the emperor's visit there in 26/5 B.C.[39]

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[33] Price (1984) 66. In much the same way the city of Pisae, following the lead of the Senate in Rome, first instituted a cult of Lucius Caesar in A.D. 2 and only subsequently sent a delegation to Augustus. An inscription (*CIL* 11, 1420) confirms that because of elections no magistrates were in place on the day news arrived of the death of C. Caesar, a patron of the city. The various honours decreed him were consequently illegitimate but this deficiency was later repaired by general agreement once *duoviri* had been appointed. Clearly, therefore, the colony was free to institute the cult as it saw fit and the *legati* sent later to Augustus in practice announced a *fait accompli*—despite the formality of asking the emperor's permission (lines 33ff.). Two years later when a similar cult of Gaius Caesar, likewise a patron of the colony, was instituted (*CIL* 11, 1421), no embassy was sent. The emperor was simply informed of the city's action in writing (lines 43ff.).

[34] Vol. I, 1, pp. 171–9; Price (1984) 250 with refs.

[35] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 49ff., especially 53–5, 59–63. Despite statements to the contrary in some secondary sources, the number of columns that fronted the temple of Roma and Augustus at Lepcis Magna is uncertain as the requisite measurements have yet to be made. See further Étienne (1996). The enormous temple at Lugdunum recently identified in the grounds of the convent of the Verbe Incarné is best left out of consideration as its affiliation with the imperial cult looks very uncertain. For the convincing view that the structure was rather a Capitolium see now Di Vita-Évrard (2000) forthcoming (information kindly provided by the author prior to publication). *Contra* Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 1, 210–11.

[36] Trillmich (1990) 305ff.

[37] Gimeno (1994) 65–7 with lám. III–IV.

[38] That a municipal temple was erected in the lower forum at some stage seems

The reverse side of these arguments tells strongly in favour of the provincial status of the temple. Permission to establish a provincial temple was regularly asked of the emperor and the senate.[40] The clearest example is the temple to Tiberius, Livia and the personified Senate that the province of Asia was allowed to build in A.D. 25 (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 15); three years later the senate with the tacit assent of Tiberius agreed to the claims of Smyrna to serve as the site (*Ann.* 4, 55–6).[41] Following this example the province of Baetica sent ambassadors to the senate in A.D. 25 with a request to build a temple to Tiberius and Livia (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37, 1; cf. 15, 4). The request of Further Spain clearly pertained to a provincial temple on the model earlier allowed in Asia, yet in this case the request was refused and the foundation of a provincial cult of Baetica consequently deferred until the Flavian era, most probably the reign of Vespasian.[42] The correspondence with the embassy of A.D. 15 nevertheless suggests very strongly that the earlier legation from Hither Spain will likewise have concerned a provincial temple.

Similarly, the fact that the temple on the coins is shown as octostyle points to a provincial rather than municipal structure. At all events an early provincial octostyle temple occurs at Nicomedia and Ancyra—that at Pergamum is hexastyle—while on the standard view the Temple of Divus Claudius at Camulodunum is likewise octostyle.[43] Then there is the tetrastyle temple shown on coins of Emerita. This can only be the provincial temple since for one thing the legend AETERNITATI AVGVSTAE establishes an incontrovertible link with the ruler cult, for another the municipal "Temple of Diana" is hexastyle. The correspondence of these coins with the Tarraco *dupondii* has already been noted,[44] the principal difference being that the Emerita temple has four

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likely enough given that other cities associated with a provincial temple also boasted an imperial municipal temple; Emerita and Narbo are the clearest examples: Fishwick, Don (1992) 381–401; *id.* (1996) 172–4; Temple of Augustus (1999) 136–7.

[39] Above, note 34.

[40] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 13, 54.

[41] Millar (1977) 345; Price (1984) 64, 66, 185, 258; Friesen (1993) 17–19.

[42] Vol. I, 2, 219–39 at 270ff.; below, pp. 122–38. *Contra* Pailler (1989) 178–9.

[43] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 54–5 with Tafeln 31–2, 40–5; Friesen (1993) 12–13; Fishwick, Camulodunum (1997) 31–50 at 41 with fig. 6.

[44] Apart from the issues at Tarraco and Emerita a temple of *Aeternitas Augusta / Augusti* seems unknown: Vol. I, 1, pp. 151–2 with nn. 11–13. Though technically a temple

columns in line with the tradition of south and south-east Spain.[45] But if the Emerita coins so closely follow the Tarraco issues, is it likely that a municipal structure at Tarraco would have provided the model for what is plainly a provincial temple at Emerita? All analogy requires that the Tarraco temple should likewise be provincial and that Lusitania followed the example set by Hither Spain.

A further point arises from the distinguishing features of the temple represented on the coins. Th. Hauschild demonstrated thirty years ago that the *clipei* and *phalerae* known from surviving remnants found on the upper terrace of the provincial enclave will have been hung from the attic of the portico surrounding the temple *temenos* in imitation of the ideological programme at the Forum Augustum.[46] A similar copy of this complex occurs at Emerita, where remains of *clipei* showing the head of Jupiter or Medusa have come to light along with fragmentary caryatids.[47] Dated on stylistic grounds to the late Julio-Claudian or Flavian period, these are presently attributed to the portico of a marble *forum adiectum* that evokes architecturally the Forum Augustum.[48] The correspondence with the scheme at Rome is confirmed by remnants of a colossal statue group portraying Aeneas fleeing with Anchises and Ascanius from burning Troy, also by a fragmentary reproduction of the accompanying Aeneas inscription, a copy of which is repeated at Pompeii.[49] It now turns out that similar remains occur at Corduba, where recent excavations have revealed a newly identified *forum novum* remarkable for an architectural complex likewise modelled on the Forum Augustum.[50] In particular part of a marble antefix along with other architectural remnants strongly suggests that the centre-piece of the scheme will have been a reproduction of the temple of Mars Ultor, while sundry fragments of sculpture point to other features copied from the Forum Augustum, precisely as at Emerita. Everything indicates, therefore, that the remains on the upper level of the provincial centre at Tarraco preserve traces of a third copy of an architectural model that

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of Augustan Eternity, the structure at Tarraco celebrated the deified Augustus, as the numismatic evidence makes perfectly clear (above, p. 43).

[45] See in detail Vol. III, 3, 41–2 with n. 5.

[46] Hauschild (1972–4) 38 with Ab. 28; Mar (1993) 138ff.

[47] Barerra (2000) 76–110, 158–62.

[48] The north-east corner of this complex survives. See Fishwick, Forum (2000) 97 with n. 7 and bibl.; Barerra (2000) 184–8 with bibl.

[49] Fishwick, Forum (2000) 98, n. 8. with refs.

[50] *Id.*, *o.c.* 96–7 with nn. 1–5.

was evidently exported from Rome to the provinces, Spain in particular. If so, the octostyle temple shown on local coins was not just inspired by the octostyle temple of Mars Ultor at Rome but in fact portrays a projected replica of the Roman prototype.[51] Whether remnants of an Aeneas statue group or a fragmentary copy of the Aeneas inscription will ever emerge at Tarraco is hardly worth considering at this stage. In any event the coins make it abundantly clear that at least the design of the complex is Tiberian in origin.

As for the Flavian date based on the evidence of stratigraphic soundings, in the first place it is inconceivable that, after asking and receiving permission to build a provincial temple so soon after Augustus' death, the Spaniards would have delayed over fifty years before starting work on the project at the beginning of Vespasian's reign. Permission looks to have been given by the senate, perhaps with Tiberius present,[52] and we know from the example of the Asian temple at Smyrna that the senate could follow up its own authorization by sending out an overseer to ensure a building was constructed as agreed.[53] Is it then possible to harmonize the archaeological findings as they presently stand with the presence of a temple begun, say, under Tiberius? Only excavations in the *cella* of the temple could yield a positive date, however approximate, for commencement of construction, an impossible requirement at Tarraco as the site of the temple has not yet been determined. For the moment the key point to be stressed is that the two zones which have been excavated relate not to the temple itself but to the *temenos*, which on the findings of the TEDA cannot be earlier than A.D. 69/70. As we have seen, the basis for this view is stratigraphic data, in particular pottery recovered by excavations in the cloister garden (1955) and the Calle Sant Llorenç (1984, 1986) at a site just outside the cult precinct.[54] But this hardly excludes the possibility that the temple itself had long been under way or that the *temenos* was levelled and paved at some stage subsequent to—perhaps well after—the initiation of work on the temple itself. In this connection it may be noted that scattered iconographic traces have been dated to the Julio-Claudian era rather than later and that there are conflicting views on the date of the *clipei*.[55] In short there begin to be sufficient indications to support the idea of long-term work on the temple, construction of which was underway—at a slow and halting pace—from the reign of Tiberius to that of Vespasian, when the whole project suddenly accelerated with the accession of a new dynasty whose cause the inhabitants of Tarraco had failed to support. At this point the copy of the Forum Augustum on the upper terrace was completed and the complex on the second level with its surrounding porticoes began being built.[56]

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[51] *Id.*, *o.c.* 102–3 with nn. 28–9.

[52] Above, note 30.

[53] Millar (1977) 345; Price (1984) 64, 66, 185, 258; Friesen (1993) 18 with n. 53.

[54] Above, nn. 14, 21. See further Mar (1993) 113, emphasizing the restricted nature of this evidence: "En realidad los estratos asociables a la construcción de los conjuntos monumentales de la parte alta de Tárraco raramente han aportado materiales estratigráficos para proponer una datación para su realización. En relación al recinto de Culto Imperial podríamos citar únicamente como publicados los materiales identificados por Aquilué en la excavación del solar del Colegio de Arquitectos. Existem además los materiales hallados en las excavaciones de Sanchez-Real y Hauschild en el claustro de la catedral aún no publicados".

ii. The Provincial Cult

If this interpretation can stand, there seems good reason to reinstate the traditional view that the octostyle temple on the coins is provincial and should be identified with the structure of which vestiges have survived at the provincial enclosure. The lengthy period of construction is presumably attributable, at least in part, to financial exigencies, which might even have imposed one or more intervals when work on an over-ambitious project was actually suspended. More to the point for present purposes, the beginning of the provincial cult of Hispania Citerior can be placed once again under Tiberius, when the Spanish embassy was given permission to build a provincial temple.[57] One discordant note in this reconstruction is the lack of any epigraphical testimony that might be called upon in confirmation,[58] but two observations seem relevant in this regard. In the first place official inscriptions in the form of inscribed statue pedestals attesting federal priests do not occur at the federal sanctuary of the Three Gauls before the reign of Vespasian;

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[55] Detailed discussion in Vol. III, 3, 24–6.

[56] Precisely this development has been suggested at the theatre of Tarraco, where there is a similar conflict between Julio-Claudian architectonic, iconographic and epigraphic evidence and the testimony of stratigraphic sequences, which place the floor of the theatre in the Flavian period. See Vol. III, 3, 39 with n. 122.

[57] For epigraphical evidence implying that the building on the upper terrace of the provincial enclosure is the "Temple of Augustus" mentioned in Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, 78 and *SHA*, *Hadr.*, 12, 3, see below pp. 186–8.

[58] Noted by Le Roux (1994) 398, cf. 399, arguing against a pre-Flavian provincial cult of Hither Spain. In Baetica, on the contrary, the same author takes a similar lack of early evidence to be inconclusive (399).

at Lugdunum as at Tarraco (but not Emerita) the sudden onset of this type of testimony can be attributed to regulations akin to those set out in the Lex Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038).[59] What we do find earlier in Gallia Comata are a very few local or private records.[60] Similarly in Lusitania the epigraphical evidence for provincial cult in the Julio-Claudian era takes the form of inscriptions set up locally by the community or privately, not by the province.[61] For some reason local or private records are proportionately far less frequent in Hither Spain, barely a seventh of the total record as compared with almost a third in Tres Galliae. Evidently the custom of honouring a provincial priest in his *patria* was less fashionable in Hispania citerior, a circumstance that could partly explain the lack of evidence for provincial priests before the Flavian period. A further point worth noting in this connection is that on Alföldy's view pre-Flavian honorific texts at Tarraco will have been inscribed on thin plaques, in other words fragile material more likely to perish than the robust statue bases of later periods. Lack of documentation of a pre-Flavian provincial cult of Hispania Citerior might be explained in that case by the sheer failure of this category of evidence to survive.[62] Whatever the reason, absence of epigraphical evidence in the Julio-Claudian period hardly invalidates the thesis that the provincial cult of Hispania Citerior began well before the reign of Vespasian.[63]

Lusitania

The earliest stage of the provincial cult of Lusitania is in all probability documented at Conimbriga by the inscription of L. Papirius L. *f.* (*CIL* 2, 41*), now rehabilitated as a genuine text.[64] This records a priest of the province whose title is given as *flamen Augustalis*, a term that corresponds exactly to that of Germanicus, the first priest of Divus Augustus at Rome.[65] It is true that in Baetica *flamen Augustalis* (*CIL* 2, 3271) is the earliest title so far attested of a provincial cult that focussed on the combined living and dead *Augusti*, as clearly indicated by the composite formula *flamen Divorum Augg(ustorum)* attested under Trajan (*CIL* 2, 2344).[66] Similarly in Hispania citerior an inscription dated A.D. 110–40 (*RIT* 287) attests a *flamen Augustalis* who served a provincial cult directed to Roma, the living emperor and consecrated deceased *Augusti*; the full title of the provincial priest runs *flamen Romae, Divorum et Augustorum provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*.[67] But the possibility that the inscription of Papirius could belong to a subsequent stage, when the cult of Lusitania also included the living emperor, looks remote in light of the fact that L. Papirius has made a dedication *Divo Augusto*. There seems every reason to hold, then, that the Conimbriga text should be assigned to an earlier period when the worship focussed on Divus Augustus alone. All doubt disappears in the case of a second text preserved at Scallabis, where a badly damaged base records that in the consulships of A. Vitellius and C. Vipstanus Poplicola the decurions decreed a statue to [L.? Po]mponius [M. *f.*] Capito, *duumvir* and *flamen* at the colony and *[fla]men provinc(iae)* *[Lusita]niae Divi Aug.* *[et?]* *Divae Aug.* (*AE*, 1966, 177=*ILER* 5540, Pl. 5).[68] The text shows beyond question, therefore, that by A.D. 48 Livia had taken her place alongside Divus Augustus in the provincial cult of Lusitania, doubtless in the aftermath of her deification in A.D. 42.[69]

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[59] Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 249–60. Further below, pp. 150–4.

[60] Cf. *ILA* 7 (Mediolanum Santonum); *ILTG* 217 (Confluence); *ILA* 18 (Mediolanum Santonum). For discussion see Vol. III, 2, 17–18.

[61] *CIL* 2, 41* (Conimbriga); *MDAI(M)* 38 (1997) 89–105 (Emerita); *IRScallabis* 11 (Scallabis); *IRCP* 185 (Salacia), *IRCP* 205 (Caetobriga). Detailed discussion in Vol. III, 2, 139–41, cf. 151–2.

[62] Alföldy (1973) 16–17 with n. 52 and refs.; *RIT* p. 473.

[63] Where provincial ceremonies will have taken place pending completion of the "Temple of Augustus" is not known; cf. Vol. I, 1, 163. Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 83 make the interesting suggestion that all provincial ceremonies will have taken place in the lower, colonial forum down to the Flavian era. For the comparable use of civic forums at Corduba by the provincial council of Baetica see Vol. III, 3, 98–101.

[64] Fishwick (1982). See earlier Étienne–Fabre–Lévêque (1976) 51–2, placing the in-

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scription under Tiberius, a date supported by lack of a *cognomen* in the nomenclature of the dedicator. I am very much indebted to J. L. De la Barrera, Conservador of the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida, for his assistance in kindly forwarding photographs of inscriptions along with numerous photocopies of material difficult or impossible to obtain in Canada.

[65] Vol. I, 1, 161.

[66] Vol. I, 2, 219–39; Étienne (1958) 126–30.

[67] Alföldy (1973) 47.

[68] Mendes de Almeida-Bandeira (1966) 30. For subsequent discussion see Edmondson (1997) 94, n. 21. While there is no trace of *et* in the published version of the priestly title of Pomponius Capito, the conjunction could have stood in the lacuna at the beginning of the line.

[69] Vol. I, 1, 160, n. 69 with refs.; Edmondson (1997) 91, n. 5 with refs.

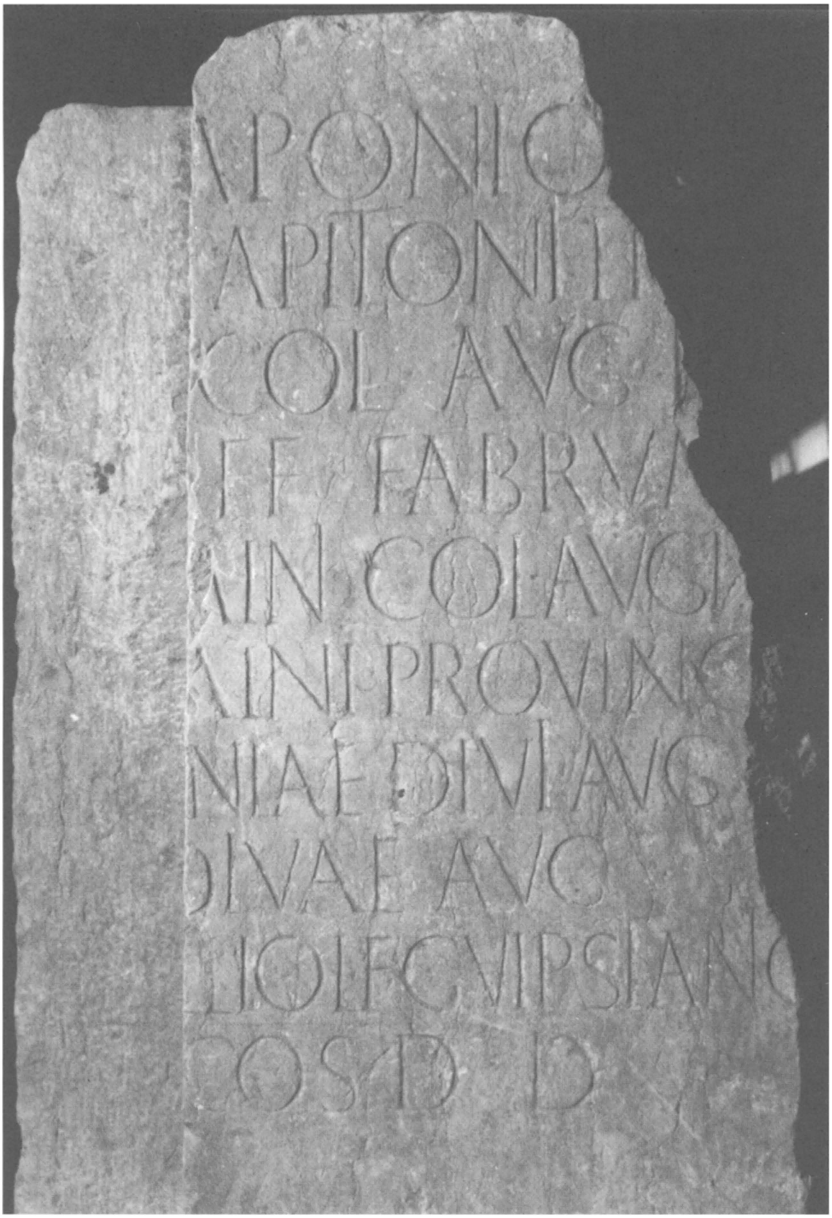

Plate 5. Inscription of L.(?) Pomponius Capito.

i. The Priesthood of Albinus

A more controversial piece of evidence at Mérida has recently acquired new significance in the light of J. C. Edmondson's re-examination of a stone block that until recently was thought to record a dedication to Divus Augustus by Albinus, son of Albuus, *flamen Divae Aug(ustae) provinciae Lusitan(iae)* (*AE*, 1946, 201 = *CIL* 2, 473; Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXVIIa).[70] Earlier discussion turned largely on the precise content of the cult, given the apparent discrepancy between the priest's act of piety in making a dedication to Divus Augustus and his priestly title which mentions only Diva Augusta.[71] That the cult could have been directed to Diva Augusta alone at one stage, a view repeated over the years,[72] is plainly excluded by the Scallabis inscription of Pomponius Capito, which confirms beyond a shadow of a doubt that under Claudius Diva Augusta was included *alongside* Divus Augustus; before the consecration of Livia all the signs are that the cult was directed to Divus Augustus alone (above). The possibility was consequently proposed that the title of Albinus was abbreviated for some reason, a common enough procedure for which parallels can be easily cited in other provinces.[73] In that case the mention of Diva Augusta alone might be attributable to local piety to the newly consecrated Livia, as a result of which she was given prominence in the years immediately following her deification.

As it turns out, the first part of this hypothesis was correct, the second inadequate. The whole discussion of the text has now been put on a new basis by Edmondson's demonstration that the priestly title is indeed shortened, but by accident rather than design.[74] Careful re-examination of the stone reveals that the right-hand section of the inscription has been broken away, a discovery that now provides a convincing material explanation for the omission of Divus Augustus from the priestly title. On this reconstruction Albinus will have made his dedication to *both* Divus Augustus *and* Diva Augusta in his capacity as a provincial priest who served the joint cult of the two deities—

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[70] In dating this text directly after Livia's consecration Clauss (1999) 401 with n. 69, erroneously gives the title of Albinus, son of Albinus(!), as *flamen divi Aug(usti)*.

[71] Fishwick (1970) 79–82. See now in general *id.*, Priesthoods (1999) 82–93.

[72] Deininger (1965) 29; Le Roux (1994) 400. For a summary of the debate see Edmondson (1997) 92–5.

[73] Fishwick (1970) 80–1. For the omission of key elements of the priestly formula in Hither Spain see Alföldy (1973) 47–8. Cf. the abbreviated titlle of C. Caecilius Gallus in Proconsularis (*CIL* 8, 7986–7; *ILS* 6862; *ILAlg* 2, 36, 71).

[74] *Id.* (1997) 95–9.

exactly on the lines indicated by the Scallabis inscription. Given the balanced arrangement of the text, Edmondson suggests that exact measurement of the lines and lettering of the inscription points to a dedication, the original dimensions of which would fit the following version:[75] *Divo Augusto [et Divae Aug.] | Albinus Albui f. flamen Ḍ[ivi Augusti et] | Divae Aug. provinciae Lusitaṇ[iae dedicavit]* (*AE*, 1997, 777b). In support of these restitutions he draws attention to a circular hole with a rectangular slot cut into the left-hand top of the stone, so very possibly matched by a similar aperture above the missing right-hand section.[76] These strongly suggest that busts or small statues of Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta stood above the block, each accommodated by an aperture to fit the foot of the artifact.[77] Like similar objects elsewhere, the figures may have been carried in procession on high festivals of the imperial cult such as the emperor's birthday.[78]

Some minor modifications to the above reconstruction may be tentatively proposed. In Edmondson's text the dedication *Divo Augusto* is given in full whereas *Divae Aug(ustae)* is abbreviated. This seems strange, especially when both deities are restored *in extenso* in a new dedication at Mérida—whether a record of provincial or municipal cult is impossible to tell: *Divo Ạ[ugusto] | et Diva[e Augustae] | sacrum* [...] | ... .[79] A contemporary inscription at Rome, in contrast, provides a reverse parallel in which *Divi Aug.* is abbreviated whereas *Divae Augustae* is given in full, presumably because of her novelty:[80] *Dis Manibus* |... *Aug. lib. Bathyllus aeditus templi divi Aug.* | *[e]t divae Augustae quod est in Palatium* (sic) | *inmunis et honoratus* (*CIL* 6, 4222 = *ILS* 4995). In light of these examples it may be suggested that *et* was simply omitted, as occasionally the case in dedications to two divinities, and that the text read in consequence *Divo Augusto Divae Augustae.*[81] Despite the larger lettering of the first line, the addition of two additional letters does not look impossible though only the reappearance of the right-hand section could settle the matter.

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[75] For a drawing of the stone with the proposed restorations see Edmondson, *o.c.* 99, fig. 1.

[76] *O.c.* 95 with precise measurements.

[77] Cf. the foot on which the well-known bust of Marcus Aurelius at Avenches looks to have been mounted: Vol. II, 1, 535–6.

[78] Vol. II, 1, 550–61. See now in general Van Andringa (2000) 38.

[79] Edmondson (1997) 89–91.

[80] See in general Fishwick, Temple of Divus Augustus (1992) 246.

[81] Kindly proposed by G. Di Vita-Evrard.

More significant is that the formula of Albinus reads, as restored, *flamen Ḍ[ivi Augusti et] Divae Aug. provinciae Lusitaṇ[iae* ... . Yet comparison with the Scallabis text shows that both deities are abbreviated in the title of Pomponius Capito, *[fla]men provinciae [Lusita]niae Divi Aug.* [*et*?] *Divae Aug.* (*AE*, 1966, 177; above, p. 54). Furthermore it would appear that the singular *Augusti* appears in full in not a single title of any *flamen* in the Western provinces and in only two records of a provincial *sacerdos*, in both cases of Tres Galliae (*ILA* 7, 18); in every other provincial title that has survived one finds the abbreviation *Aug.* This point holds in particular for Tres Galliae, where the title is *sacerdos Romae et Aug. ad aram* or variant,[82] but also for Proconsularis, where *flamen Aug.* is probably to be expanded *Aug(ustalis)* or *Aug(ustorum)*, since a cult founded under Vespasian can hardly have centred on Divus Augustus alone.[83] In Hispania citerior, where inscriptions begin at a time when the provincial cult was already directed to multiple *Augusti*, the plural *Augustorum*, which includes the living emperor with the deified dead, is either given in full or abbreviated in various ways.[84] In view of this general epigraphical practice, then, it would appear by far the likelier completion to read *flamen Ḍ[ivi Aug. et] Divae Aug.* ... in the inscription of Albinus also.

In that case, however, the right-hand section of the third line should be shortened correspondingly. *Dedic.* would give about the same number of letter spaces to the right of the break in line 2 but, though certainly found elsewhere (cf. *ILAlg*, 1, 1295), the abbreviation looks unlikely in the Spains, where the verb is usually written *in extenso*.[85] Far more probable is *d. d.*,[86] which with intervening spaces, not to mention the possibility of *interpunctiones*, is hardly too short once *Augusti* in line 2 is reduced to *Aug.* A more general consideration offers strong support. One provision of the Lex Narbonensis concerns the expenditure of funds by the provincial *flamen* on statues or busts of the emperor (*CIL* 12, 6038, lines 26–8)—but that is in the Flavian period, at a time when provincial revenues may have been available (below, pp. 167–9). In Lusitania under the Julio-Claudians, in contrast, the priest himself would more likely have supported the costs of donating the two imperial figures that Edmonson reasonably takes to have been supported by the dedication block. In this perspective, therefore, to read *d(edit) d(edicavit)* or *d(ono) d(edit)* would appear not just epigraphically plausible but logically preferable.[87]

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[82] For the variant titles of priests of Tres Galliae see Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 250, n. 11; further below, Vol. III, 2, 60–8.

[83] Vol. I, 2, 265; further below, p. 131.

[84] Alföldy (1973) 46–9, 61–97; further below, Vol. III, 2, 85–6.

[85] Cf. *CIL* 2, 494, 761 *et passim*: Index, p. 1194

[86] Cf. *CIL* 2, 2, 13, 32, 110, 5141 *et passim*: Index, p. 1174.

ii. The Provincial Cult

At all events there can be no further doubt that this text reinforces the evidence of the Scallabis inscription in confirming that the worship focussed on both Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta from A.D. 42 down to at least the deification of Claudius. Presumably Divus Claudius will have been included following his apotheosis in A.D. 54, though no provincial title in the Latin west mentions his name specifically.[88] As the addition of Divus Claudius would in that event have produced an unwieldy formula, however, Edmondson could well be right in supposing it was about this stage that the formula was simplified to *flamen provinciae Lusitaniae.*[89] The point would be confirmed if a priesthood attested at Salacia and Caetobriga could be securely attributed to the period from Nero to Vespasian. The identity of [L.?] Cornelius Bocchus depends on his filiation, which in one text is recorded as C. [*f.*] (*CIL* 2, 35=*AE*, 1967, 195), in another as L. *f.* (*ad CIL* 2, 5184).[90] On the most recent examination of the stones,[91] however, the difference between the letters is uncertain and the parallel *cursus* given in both inscriptions rather supports Dessau's proposal *ad ILS* 2920–1 that the two are the same person. The fact that the second text records the legion as *III Augusta* hardly affects the point, though Etienne notes that absence of the epithets *pia fidelis* points to a period before Domitian. Whether L. Cornelius C. *f.* Bocchus is identical with the Cornelius Bocchus on whom Pliny draws for Lusitanian material is very uncertain.[92]

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[87] Precisely as Edmondson proposes in the case of a new, defective dedication to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta at Mérida: *Divo A̧[ugusto]* | *et Diva[e Augustae]* | *sacrum* [.........] | — : *id.* (1997) 89–90 with n. 3, listing parallels.

[88] The deification of Claudius was not annulled, though Nero did pull down *prope funditus* the temple begun by Agrippina on the Mons Caelius (Suet., *Vespas.* 9): Vol. I, 2, 296–7. For the convincing argument that the choice of site was a deliberate insult to Claudius on the part of the Senate see Turcan (1998); further below, pp. 86–8.

[89] *O.c.* 96.

[90] Étienne (1958) 123–4, citing (n. 2) the reading of J. Leite de Vasconcellos on the basis of a photograph. Étienne consequently took the second to be the son of the first.

[91] Bandeira (1956).

[92] Deininger (1965) 131 with n. 3 and refs.; Le Roux (1994) 400. Solinus also mentions a Bocchus, presumably the same author, as one of his sources. For a possible connection

If he is, identification with the provincial *flamen* would give a late Julio-Claudian/early Flavian date for his priesthood; if not, all that can safely be said is that the tenure of Bocchus is post-Claudian.

A final problem concerns the circumstances under which the provincial cult of Lusitania was originally established. In Hispania citerior, as we have seen, an embassy went to Rome in A.D. 15 to ask permission from the senate to build a provincial temple at Tarraco, the provincial capital. Why the sources preserve no report of a similar embassy from Lusitania raises an interesting question. The weakest answer would be that none was recorded in Tacitus' sources (presumably the *acta senatus*) or that Tacitus simply overlooked the relevant entry. A more plausible explanation is that no embassy was necessary in light of the permission given the Spaniards to build a temple at Tarraco. If the example given to all the provinces was a temple to Divus Augustus, this was followed exactly at Emerita, where an inscription documents the early provincial cult of Divus Augustus (*CIL* 2, 41*: above, pp. 53–4) and coins of Emerita illustrate a temple with the same legend as that on *dupondii* issued by Tarraco. The sole difference, as we have seen, is that instead of an octostyle temple as at Tarraco the Emerita coins show a tetrastyle temple in line with the tradition of south and south-east Spain.[93] Current archaeological exploration at Emerita will hopefully reveal whether or not this is the tetrastyle temple in Calle Holguín conceivably located at the putative provincial centre.

Noricum

Until the reign of Claudius, under whom Noricum was made a province with its capital at Virunum,[94] Roman administration of the eastern Alps was based on the city located on the Magdalensberg near Klagenfurt (Pl. 6).[95] Following voluntary acceptance of Roman control *ca.*

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with the [Boc]chus, apparently attested at Salacia (*EE* 7, 1899, 4), not Aquae Flaviae in Hither Spain (*CIL* 2, 2479, cf. 5617) see Étienne's discussion (1958) 124.

[93] Fishwick, Temple of Augustus (1999) 131. See further Vol. III, 3, 41–2.

[94] See in general Alföldy (1974) 70. The name of the settlement is uncertain. For a pre-Claudian(?), fragmentary inscription suggesting that the name Virunum originally applied to the city on the Magdalensberg, from which it was later transferred to the new foundation on the plain below, see Piccottini–Vetters (1999) 24–5; further Dobesch (1997); *contra* Alföldy (1974) 47–51 with n. 66, taking the letter forms to be post-Claudian.

[95] I am very much indebted for advice, photographs and photocopies of recent publications to G. Piccottini, Director of the Landesmuseums für Kärnten.

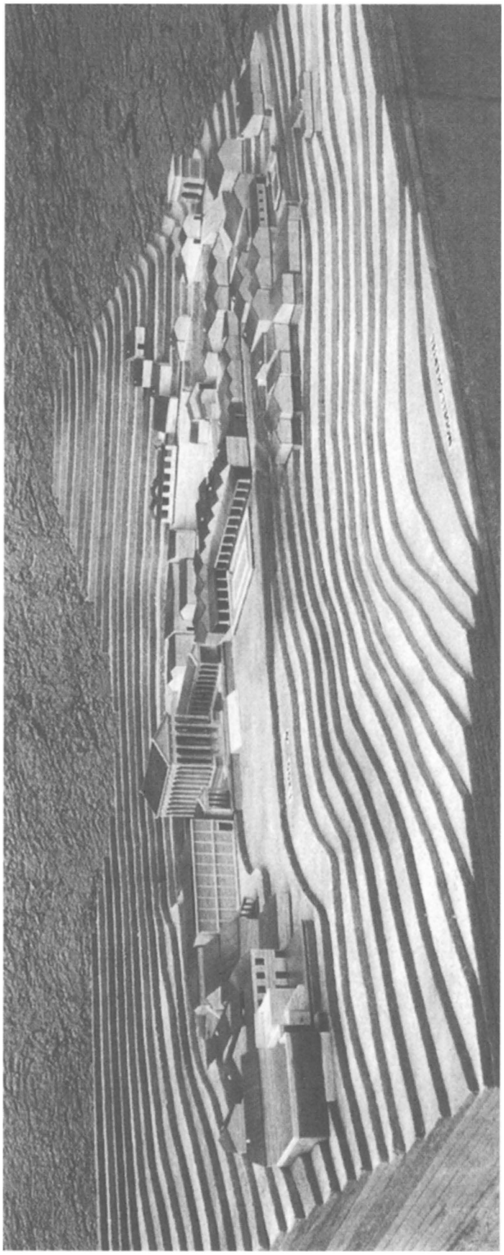

Plate 6. Model reconstruction of the city on the Magdalensberg.

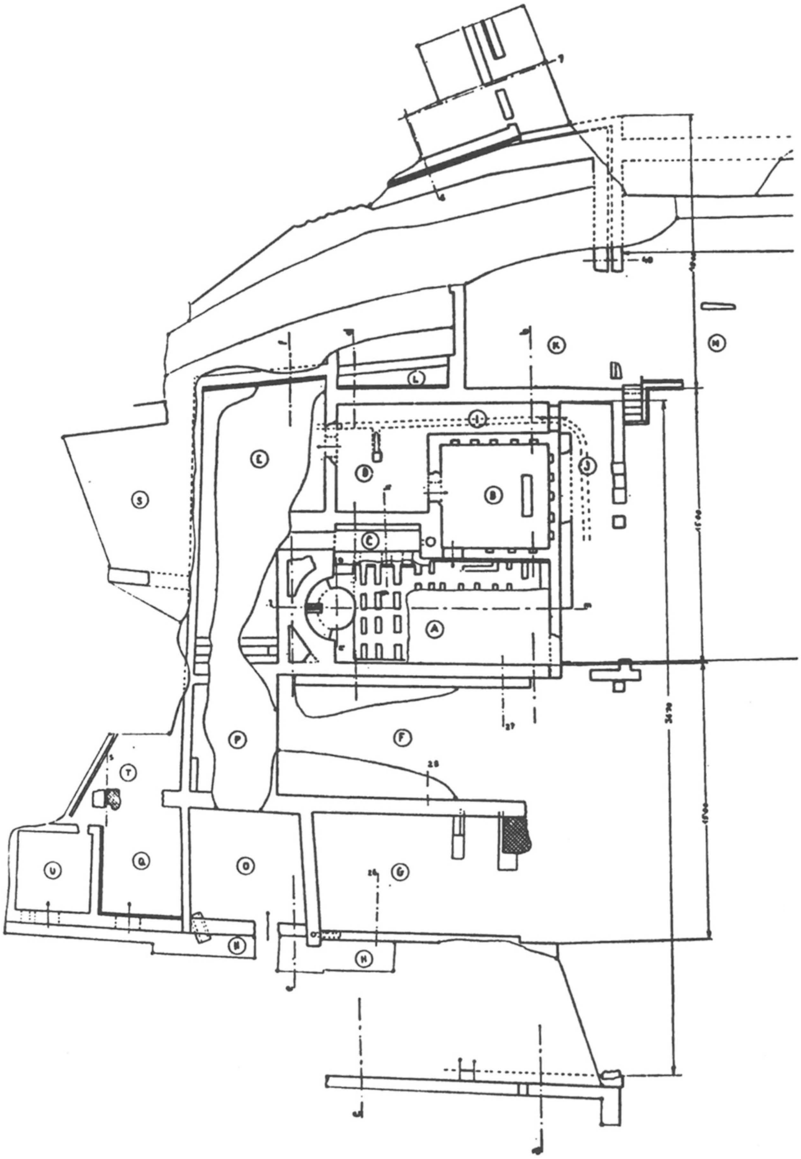
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Plate 7. Plan of the "Repräsentationshaus" at the city on the Magdalensberg.

15 B.C. and the consequent termination of the *regnum Noricum*, an ambitious building programme got under way at what was now the centre of occupied territory, its focal point a fortress on the mountain top.[96] Particular importance attaches to a structure built in several stages north-west of the forum; as its eventual features make clear, in particular a tribunal and a *secretarium*, this was the *praetorium*, seat of the Roman authorities. That the city served as a centre for the cult of the emperor, inferentially at the provincial level, has been supposed on the basis of two further buildings: an adjacent structure which R. Egger and others took to be the "Repräsentationshaus" of the *concilium* of Noricum,[97] and a large, unfinished temple on the nearby forum. The precise status of the temple seems never to have been defined in previous discussion, but the existence of a provincial council necessarily implies the foundation of a provincial cult: the two are interdependent since the chairman of the council served as provincial priest, and except for the Republican *commune Siciliae*[98] there is no example in the western empire of a *concilium* that pre-existed worship at the provincial level. Comparison with centres elsewhere in the Latin provinces—Tarraco, Narbo, Lugdunum—would in that case suggest that the temple too will have been provincial, despite the fact that it was under construction from the reign of Tiberius. The obvious difficulties in this scenario can now be reconsidered in the light of revised archaeological findings at the city on the Magdalensberg and a better understanding of the structures in question.

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[96] For full discussion see Piccottini (1977) 274–85; *id.* (1989) 3–16; Piccottini–Vetters (1999) 30–44. The importance of the city in the period from Tiberius to Claudius has recently been underlined by the discovery of a closely controlled workshop for melting gold, located on the far side of the road south-west of the forum. Two inscribed moulds with the name of the emperor Caligula in the genitive suggest that Norican gold was counted part of the emperor's *patrimonium*. See in detail Piccottini (1994); *id.* (1999).

[97] For detailed bibliography see Piccottini (1977) 277–8, nn. 56–60; further Vol. I, 1, 139–40.

[98] Deininger (1965) 13–14, noting that aside from the practice of the ruler cult the known features of the *commune Siciliae* closely resemble those of provincial assemblies in the imperial period. This federation of cities in Rome's oldest province is hardly comparable to the *conventus* of Norican tribes.

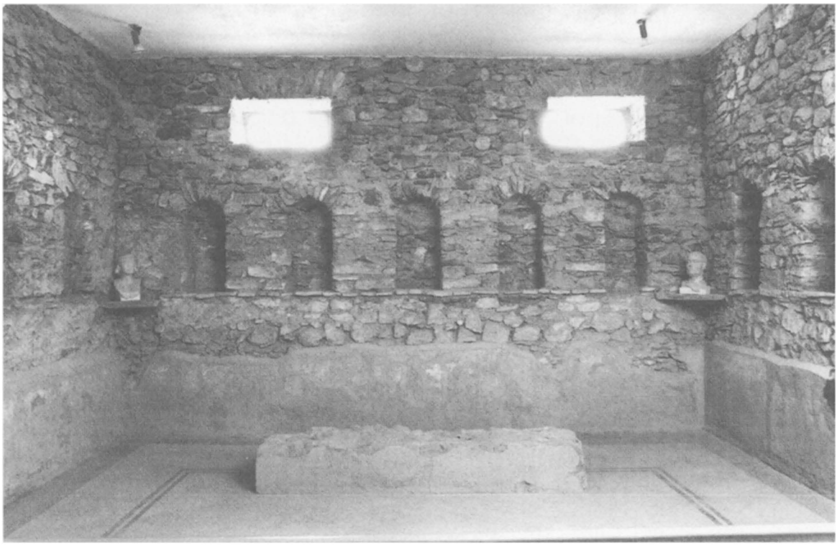

Plate 8. The archive room of the "Repräsentationshaus" at the city on the Magdalensberg with wall niches and mosaic floor.

i. The Council House

First the "Repräsentationshaus" (Pl. 7).[99] A hundred Roman feet (29.60m) from the steps on the north-west side of the temple a structure of unusual design is divided into three parts: on the north wing a three-storied block of four smaller rooms which in their later development formed the east front of the *praetorium*; a middle section consisting of an entrance corridor (C), a foreroom (D), a room with thirteen recesses in three of its walls (B: Pl. 8), and an apsidal room (Pl. 9) with covered forehall and interior court (A); lastly, built onto the central section, a third part in which two parallel rooms open towards the forum. The middle building evidently underwent three stages of construction, each related to the different purpose it served. In the first phase the central apsidal room may have been part of a basilica at least 12m long which conceivably acted as the locale of the *magistri* who oversaw the market on the "Forum der römischen Händler".[100] In the second construction period, contemporary with the peaceful occupation of the

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[99] Piccottini–Vetters (1999) 109–13.

[100] The existence of the basilica is not yet entirely clear. See Piccottini (1989) 6 with n. 14, emphasising that further field work is needed.

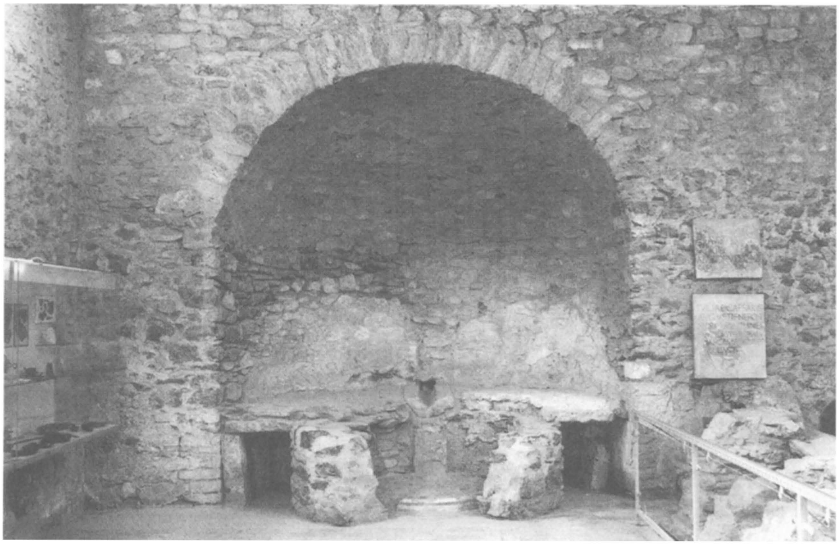

Plate 9. The apse in Room A of the "Repräsentationshaus" at the city on the Magdalensberg.

kingdom of Noricum by the Romans, the basilica was replaced by a structure consisting of three rooms and entrance corridor. Its function is clear from the hypocaust built before the mosaic was laid down on the floor of room A, a water basin placed in the apse, the *praefurnium* located in a small inner court west of the building, water-proof plaster throughout all rooms, above all the impression of steps in the plaster near a niche on the north side of Room A, plain indication that a bath tub was installed. These details make it perfectly clear that at this time the building was equipped as a bath house in which room A served as the *caldarium*. The third period dates from A.D. 15 following a great fire in the region of the forum. While the skeleton of the building was preserved, the interior underwent extensive re-modelling. In particular the hypocaust in the apsidal room was raised, as a result of which the mosaic floor and bath tub were removed as also was the water basin. These modifications along with minor structural changes in the apse raised the floor level, which in the last construction period is a good metre higher than before. Plainly these renovations point to an entirely different use of the structure in this period.

The original identification of room B as an archive turned on the number of its niches, which coincides with that of the thirteen Norican *poleis* recorded by Ptlolemy (2, 13, 3). On the basis of this inference

Room A was taken to be the assembly place for the *conventus Noricorum* with a holy fountain in its apsis. The building as a whole would therefore have been the "Repräsentationshaus" where the assembly of Noricum held its sessions, an interpretation apparently supported by the discovery of three, perhaps four fragmentary dedications to the *gens Augusta*; remains of these were recovered from the debris associated with the second phase of construction but were also found lying far apart from the structure.[101] The dedications occur on marble plaques set up to Livia, Iulia and Iulia *minor* by eight of the Norican tribes (including two whom Ptolemy omits to mention) and are dated to 11–2 B.C. by the fact that Iulia is called *Neronis* (*uxor*).[102] It follows, however, from the reinterpretation of the second period, when the building served as a bath house, that it cannot have been used as an assembly hall before A.D. 14.[103] At this date the adjacent *praetorium* was ravaged by fire along with the bath house itself, presumably also the honorific dedications. In all likelihood the catastrophe occurred in connection with the revolts following the death of Augustus, when veterans of the *legio VII Augusta* stationed on the Magdalensberg sided with troops at Poetovio. Once the mutiny was crushed there are clear signs that the occupying authorities took steps to re-establish control. The bath house was remodelled, a temple begun to the east, and in the area of the later *praetorium* existing buildings that may already have served the Roman administration were replaced by a wider installation with a pillared hall; in its final form this was a two storied structure with three aisles and hypaethral roof. Subsequently construction began under Claudius of a basilica with three halls open to the sky and two rows of pillars, also a covered, possibly two-storied portico along three sides (Pl. 6). It was apparently at this stage, towards the end of the period of occupation, that a large tribunal (*suggestus*) was installed on the west side, facing a courtyard with collonades; accessed by two flights of steps and linked with a frescoed room that served as a *secretarium* for the deliberations of Roman officials, this addition gave the complex as a whole the character of a *praetorium*.

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[101] Alföldy (1974) 67–9; Piccottini (1977) 278, n. 61; Piccottini–Vetters (1999) 20, 35, 122–3.

[102] Whereas Egger inferred that these inscriptions had been originally attached to a wall of Room A, Alföldy proposes an original location somewhere in the multiple building complex that includes the "Repräsentationshaus": *id.* (1974) 70, taking the dedications to date from 10–9 B.C. On the view of Sasel (1967), the inscribed tablets will rather have belonged to some imperial monument on the forum, a possibility that would better explain the wide scattering of the fragments. The circumstance that the texts give only the names of the southern and western tribes presumably implies either that the remainder were not present on this occasion or that these were associated with some other monument now lost. Failure to mention the Norican king or kingdom is a clear indication that the independence of Noricum was at an end.

[103] For graffiti on the inside walls recording good wishes to the Augustan house and references to sacrifices, some made in A.D. 4 and 5, see Alföldy (1974) 70 with n. 54 and refs.

Against these developments, then, the immediate connection with the *praetorium* strongly suggests that the former bath house now served a different purpose. Current opinion holds that it henceforth became a "Repräsentationshaus" in which Room A served as an assembly room, Room B with its existing recesses—a relic of its former use[104]—was converted into a record office, and Room D acted as an antechamber. This situation lasted down to the abandonment of the site under Claudius, when the townsfolk quickly drifted to the new site of Virunum at the foot of the mountain.

The revised interpretation of the archaeological evidence, with its developed chronological framework, underlines the flaws in the earlier picture. Even if the "House of Representatives", as it had now become, was used by delegates of the Norican tribes only after A.D. 14, their gatherings can hardly be identified with sessions of the provincial *concilium*: a council of Noricum cannot have preceded the creation of the province under Claudius. That meetings of some sort had in fact already occurred when the later "Repräsentationshaus" house was still a baths, is clear from the date of the dedications to the *gens Augusta*. All analogy suggests that these conventions should rather be compared with the earlier synods of the *civitates* of Gallia Comata held at Bibracte; irregular tribal diets in origin, these became semi-annual reunions under Caesar, who on various occasions himself convened a council of Gallic leaders.[105] If such is the case, the meetings of the tribes of Noricum on the Magdalensberg can have had no relation either to the later *concilium* of Noricum or to the associated provincial cult. At most, the tribal representatives might be seen as a sort of proto-council on which the later *concilium* could be built, once a province came into existence.[106] The surviving dedications to the *gens Iulia* are purely honorific, of course, so as expressions of homage have no direct bearing on the ruler cult, but they raise the possibility that such a preprovincial synod did pay worship to the emperor in the period before Noricum became a province. No evidence in support of this has so far accrued.

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[104] The coincidence of the number of niches with the thirteen tribes of Noricum would in that case be purely fortuitous: so Piccottini (1977) 280, n. 61.

[105] Vol. I, 1, 100–1.

[106] So rightly Piccottini–Vetters (1999) 38.

ii. The Temple

Next the temple.[107] Immediately east of the *praetorium* and above the town forum the catastrophe of A.D. 14 evidently destroyed the *tabernae* of a commercial market existing from the middle or second half of the first century B.C. In their place construction began under Tiberius of a large temple, 30.15 x 17.60m, on a *podium* placed within a enclosure, 54.60 x 54.7m, lying two metres higher than the forum. Though all that remains today are the walls of the temple cellars (*favissae*), the principal characteristics of the building are clear (Pl. 10). The original plan called for a tetrastyle facade but under Caligula and in the early reign of Claudius the design was adapted to accommodate a simple, peripteral temple with six columns fronting the *cella* and eleven along the sides; by each of these stretched a wide court bordered by a hall ending a square room (Pl. 11).[108] Construction was still unfinished when the settlement moved to the Zollfeld at the foot of the Magdalensberg since a monumental approach to the temple was never built; presumably a temporary structure, all trace of which has disappeared, was used at the time. In contrast the *cella*, 21 x 11.10m, was already completed in the first phase of construction as indicated by a doorway at the left rear giving access to a small room from which a flight of stairs led down to a door that opened into the right-hand cellar. One of the largest temples in the Roman provinces, the building was intentionally located high on the hillside so as to be visible from afar, a gleaming symbol of the new order. It has been compared with the imperial temple at Pola or the Capitolium at Virunum.

Though the temple has always been considered imperial, previous discussion has largely side-stepped the problem of its precise categorization. That we are confronted with a municipal structure is nevertheless clear from the way the building dominated the centre of the civic forum. This in itself excludes any possibility the temple could be

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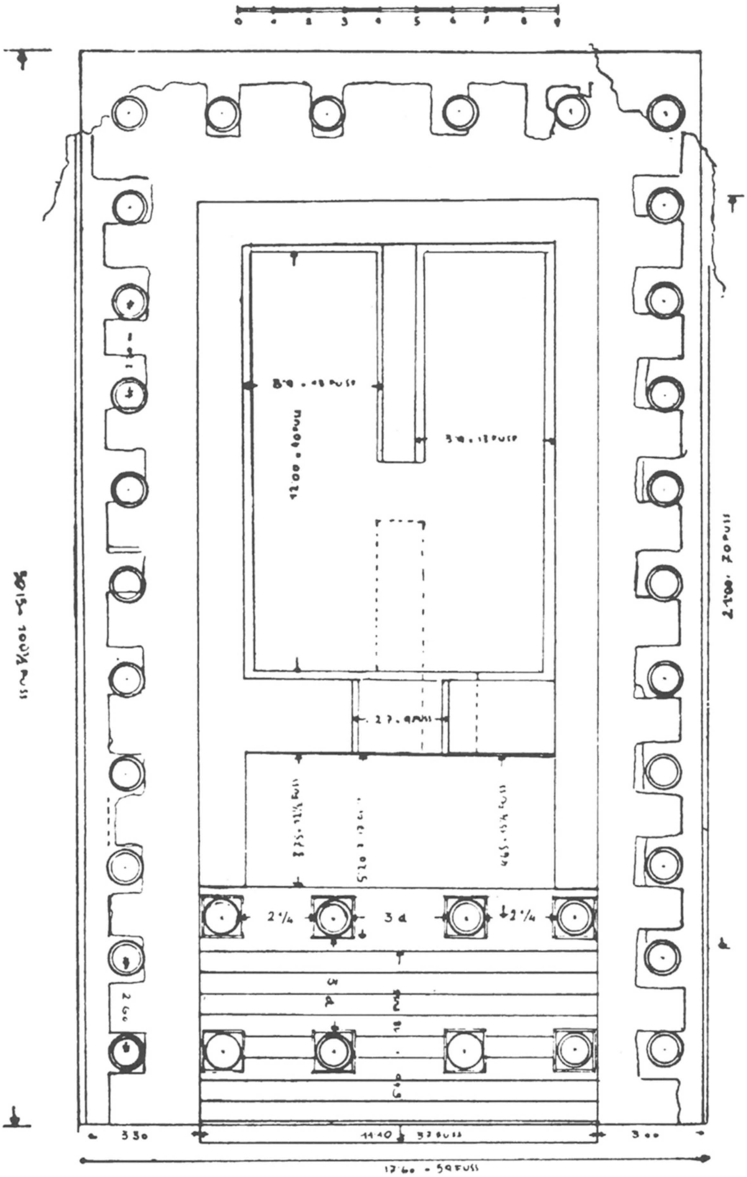
[107] Piccottini (1977) 283–5; Piccottini–Vetters (1999) 36–7, 97–9.

[108] The alterations coincided roughly with the construction of the basilica, which its *suggestus* and *secretarium* mark as a *praetorium*. The circumstance that these projects were undertaken shortly before the settlement moved suggests that the decision to abandon the site came as a surprise, possibly therefore on orders from Rome.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17·60 = 59 Fuss

Plate 10. Plan of the temple at the city on the Magdalensberg: final form.

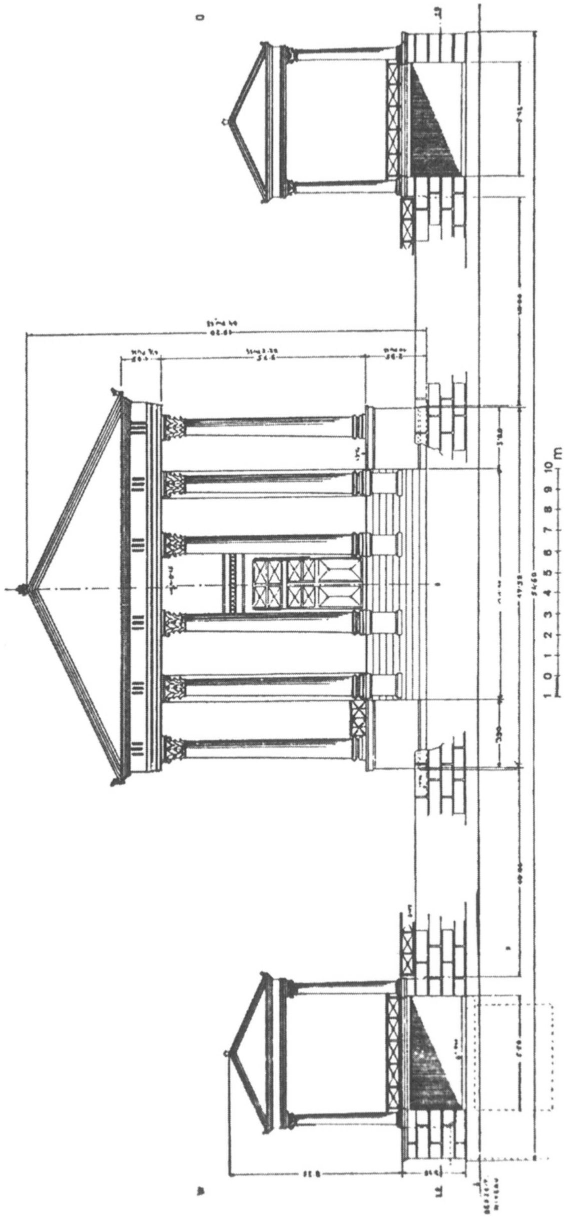
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Plate 11. Reconstruction of the temple on the Magdalensberg: second building period.

a provincial structure,[109] quite apart from the fact that a provincial temple could hardly have been begun before Noricum became a province—or have been abandoned to serve later as a quarry for construction at Virunum, where its marble facings were re-used. Nor again can it have been intended as the focus of a regional cult. Comparison with earlier foundations suggests that such a centre would have focused on an altar and been introduced under Augustus following the occupation of the eastern Alps *ca.* 16/15 B.C. The very fact that annexation took place peacefully may explain why there is no mention of such a monument in the sources. The more difficult question is to determine what god or gods the structure served when there is no epigraphic evidence to call on.

As the configuration of the *favissae* seems to point to a double *cella*, it has been inferred that the temple was dedicated to two divinities, presumably Roma and Divus Augustus. In support of this argument attention is usually drawn to the foundations of two altars that can be seen on the ramp of the temple,[110] each placed 11.70m (39 Roman feet) from the temple axis and 3m (10 Roman feet) from the east and west sides of the *podium* respectively—in conspicuous symmetry therefore.[111] This interpretation faces considerable difficulties. In the first place the arrangement of a *cella* need not correspond to the disposition of the cellars below. At Pompeii, for example, the three, thick-walled vaults that run parallel to the axis of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus have no immediate connection with the tripartite division—originally columnar, later three separate rooms of uniform dimensions—at the far north end of the *cella* above.[112] Similarly the division of the *favissae* below the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ostia bears no relation to the arrangement of the *cella*, which is not divided into two rooms.[113] At the Capitolium of Luni, in contrast, the triple division of the *cella* does correspond with the scheme of the supporting substructures, though these are then divided by three cross walls into twelve individal cellars.[114] A divided *cella* is not in any event required to accommodate two deities;[115] the temple of Roma and Augustus on the west side of the forum at Pola, like that at Ostia, has an undivided *cella.*[116]

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[109] Provincial enclosures are located mostly on the perimeter of a town (Tarraco, Narbo, Camulodunum) or in the case of the federal centre of Tres Galliae a kilometre or so from Lugdunum itself. At Emerita and Corduba the possible provincial centre may have used an internal plaza of the city, though in neither case the main civic forum. Full discussion in Vol. III, 3, 44–61, 98–101.

[110] Piccottini (1977) 283; Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 153.

[111] Egger (1959) 19–21, 30, 55.

[112] Barton (1982) 261–2; Richardson (1988) 140–3.

[113] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 132, 138 with n. 6.

[114] Gros (1990) 39, 42 with figs. 5, 6 and refs. On the architectural purpose of vaults

More important is the questionable combination of Roma and Divus Augustus. No parallel to this occurs elsewhere, though curiously the municipal temple at the south end of the forum at Ostia was dedicated to Roma and Augustus despite the fact that construction seems not to have begun until early in the reign of Tiberius.[117] As a rule Roma is associated—whether at an altar or at a temple—with the living rather the deified Augustus. Nor do the altars on the precinct ramp help the case. These lie approximately 23.5 metres apart, yet if Roma and Augustus or even Roma and Divus Augustus shared a *cella* (σύνναοι) they would certainly have shared an altar (συμβώμοι) positioned centrally; cf. the joint altar at Lugdunum dedicated *Rom. et Aug.*[118] In practice not only does the wide separation of the two altars exclude such a combination but their placement shows they were unconnected with the cult paid at the temple.[119]

As shrines to other deities are commonly found within a temple enclave, the likelier possibility is that these altars served either two Roman deities or, more probably, two local gods native to the region. Of relevance in this connection are three cavities in the hillside west of the *podium*, in one of which was found a so-called "Schädelbecker" from the first half of the last century B.C.[120] This must have been used for ritual purposes and suggests that the temple replaced an older sanctuary of indigenous deities. Conceivably the altars on the temple

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below the *podium* of Capitolia see Barton (1982) 274 with comments on Aulus Gellius 2, 10, 3.

[115] Vol. I, 1, 141, n. 298.

[116] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 149–52; Piccottini–Vetters (1999) 97, noting that the Magdalensberg temple can have have been divided or undivided. On the temple at Pola see recently Fischer (1996) 79–86. The temple is dated to the period 2 B.C - A.D. 14 and dedicated *Romae et Augusto Caesari Divi f. Patri Patriae.*

[117] Meiggs (1973) 353–4, cf. 45, 73, 132. See further Vol. I, 1, 167. Conceivably the temple had been "constituted" to Roma and Augustus at the end of Augustus' reign, before he was deified.

[118] Vol. I, 1, 125–30.

[119] According to the rules of Vitruvius, the altar had to be so positioned that in offering sacrifice one could look across it to the image of the god within his house: ... *uti, qui adierint ad aram immolantes aut sacrificia facientes, spectent ad partem caeli orientis et simulacrum, quod erit in aede*, ... (4, 5, 1, cf. 4, 9, 1). See now Gros (1992) 4, 152–7, especially 156; 214–15.

[120] Piccottini–Vetters (1999) 98–9.

ramp were each dedicated to one of these. It is worth noting too in this context that behind the temple on the steep cliff, 12m above the temple court, occurs a small hill sanctuary with a niche opening towards the valley, a place for fire, and a stand for an altar. A partly walled opening into the cliff face contains fragments of vessels and animal bones, the remains of meals associated with rites of the sanctuary. In view of these various considerations, then, a different interpretation of the imperial temple below may be proposed. Comparison with other civic centres suggests that a temple begun under Tiberius would more likely have been intended for Divus Augustus than for Roma and Divus Augustus.[121] At a practical level construction of such a temple following the disturbances caused by mutinous troops on the death of Augustus would certainly be consistent with the re-establishment of Roman authority as reflected in the restoration and extension of the *praetorium* and its adjacent bath house.

To sum up, it seems clear that from soon after Roman occupation of the eastern Alps the tribes of the region began to assemble, perhaps on regular occasions, at the city on the Magdalensberg. The purpose of these gatherings will have been to confer with the Roman authorities and display loyalty to the occupying power as attested by the dedications of 11–2 B.C. Where delegates first convened is uncertain[122] but from *ca* A.D. 14 they most likely held their meetings in a converted bath house adjacent to the *praetorium*. About the same time the city, doubtless at Roman prompting, began construction of a municipal temple on the nearby forum. Analogy combined with the historical context suggests that this will have been designed to serve the cult of Divus Augustus. Whereas the original tetrastyle temple was evidently completed—so presumably dedicated and put into cultic use—its transformation into the later hexastyle structure was still unfinished when construction of a new provincial capital began early under Claudius on the plain below. It must have been here, at the *municipium Claudium Virunum*, that a provincial council, perhaps also a provincial temple, were eventually

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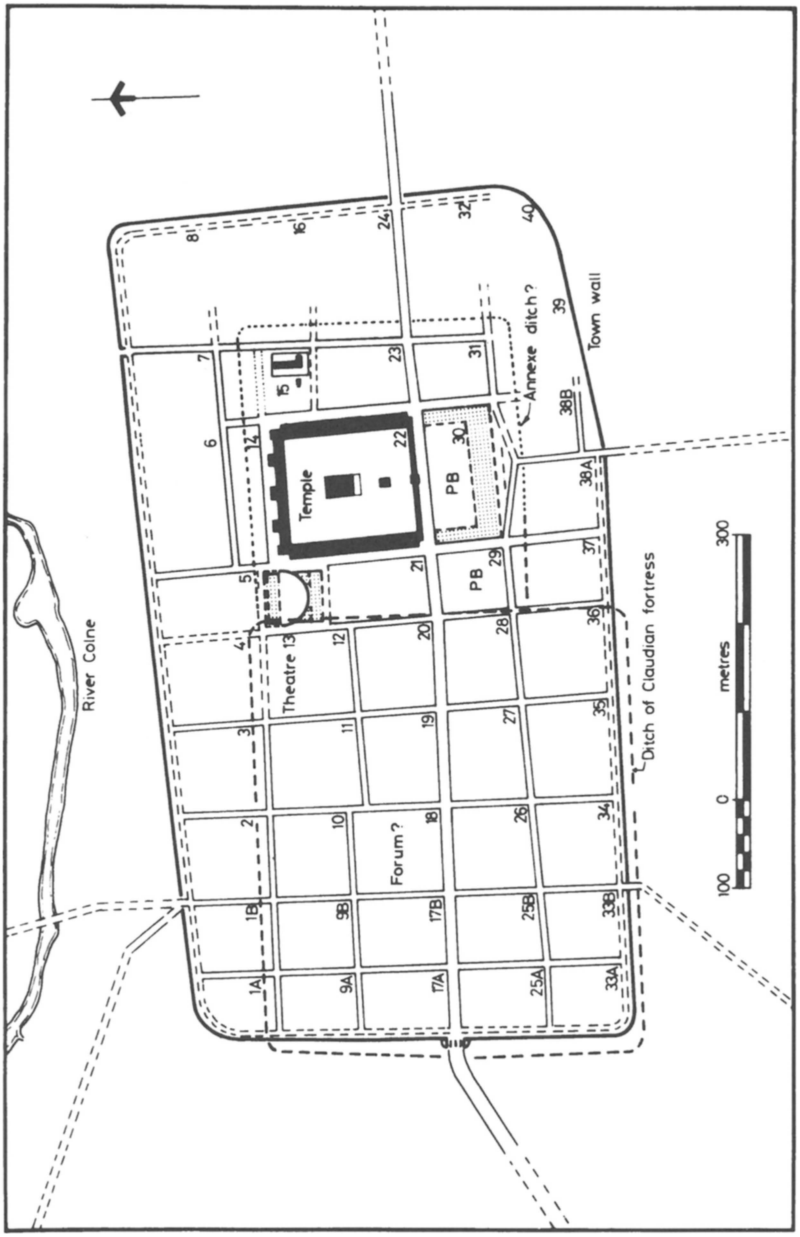
[121] Cf. the temples of Divus Augustus at Terventum and Baeterrae: Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 145, 243.

[122] G. Piccottini kindly writes that, according to the findings of an unpublished study of the northern wing of the Repräsentationshaus, a function similar to that of the Tiberian *praetorium* can be assumed of its Augustan predecessor, the construction of which points to an exceptional and prestigious building in *opus quadratum*. Conceivably this should be connected with the dedications of the Nordic tribes, who will originally have met here.


Temple
PB
PB
Theatre 13
Forum?
River Colne
Town wall
Annexe ditch?
Ditch of Claudian fortress
metres
100
0
300
1A
1B
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9A
9B
10
11
12
14
15
16
17A
17B
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25A
25B
26
27
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33A
33B
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38A
38B
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Plate 12. Plan of Roman Colchester showing location of the "Temple of Claudius" in relation to the Claudian fortress and later city. Probable sites of public buildings are indicated by the letters "PB".

centred, though tangible documentation of any part of this development has yet to emerge.[123] In contrast neither the earlier meetings of the tribes of Noricum nor the temple at the city on the mountain have any direct connection with the evolution of provincial ruler cult,[124] though the activities of an early tribal synod on the Magdalensberg could well have influenced the development and composition of the later *concilium* and its associated provincial cult.

Britannia

With no numismatic sources to draw on and in the striking absence of a single record of the priesthood of the province tangible evidence for the provincial cult of Britannia is restricted to what little is known of the enigmatic temple at Camulodunum. The material data throw no light on the origins of this structure but archaeological exploration has at least confirmed that the *podium* of a classical temple is preserved beneath the keep of the Norman castle at Colchester.[125] In view of its location at the eastern end of the Roman city, within an imposing precinct in an annex to the original colony (Pl. 12),[126] this can only be the temple mentioned by the literary authorities in two key passages. The earlier of these, a notorious sneer in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, confirms only that a temple in Britain was associated in some way with the emperor Claudius: *Deus fieri vult? parum est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod ⟨hunc⟩ nunc barbari colunt et ut deum orant μωϱοῦ εὐιλάτου*

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[123] Deininger (1965) 115–16, noting that a complaint of the *concilium* of Noricum may lie behind the process begun early in the third century by the governor Sabinus against his predecessor Pollenius Sebennus (CD 76, 9, 2). For the controversial identification of a regional *ara Noricorum* between the *decumanus* and *via Claudia* north of Virunum, supposedly established in the period from Augustus to Claudius before foundation of the town, see Harl (1992)—strongly doubted by Piccottini–Dolenz (1993) 254–6, stressing that the thesis rests entirely upon the problematic evidence of aerial photographs.

[124] For gladiatorial games at the settlement see the graffiti from an official building discovered in 1990 just north of the city forum: Piccottini (1992). This evidence supplements the earlier graffiti (including an inscription from the "Repräsentationshaus") gathered by R. Egger and H. Kenner and in the absence of an amphitheatre confirms that spectacles must have been given in the town forum; cf. Vitruv. 5, 1, 1ff. While games were certainly a liturgy of provincial priests, their performance on the Magdalensberg can have no connection with the later provincial *concilium* of Noricum.

[125] For discussion of the temple see Vol. III, 2, 138–42 with note 364.

[126] For the general background see the introduction by I. A. Richmond to Hull (1958) xxvff.; *PECS* 190–1 (Hull); Crummy (1977) 65–105 with figs. 1, 3, 12, 21–2. On the provincial centre at Camulodunum see Vol. III. 3, 137–148.

τυχεῖν? (*Apoc.* 8, 3) The second text is an obscure allusion by Tacitus, who cites the temple as one the principal causes of Boudicca's revolt in A.D. 60: *Ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx* {*ara*} *aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant* (*Ann.* 13, 31). On the basis of these two passages the standard view has always been that the "Temple of Claudius" was the focal point of a provincial worship that centred on Claudius during the emperor's lifetime.[127]

i. A Temple of Claudius?

This interpretation looks untenable on several grounds. In the first place it would surely have been physically impossible to have completed, dedicated and put into cultic service so large a temple within the period from the foundation of the colony by Ostorius Scapula in A.D. 49 and the death of Claudius on 13 October, A.D. 54.[128] Even if the temple were planned from the start, in itself a debatable assumption, architects and master masons to supervise local workmen would have had to be available, stone needed to be quarried, dressed and transported, foundations marked and laid out, and so on. The *podium* now below Colchester castle is very large, 24 x 31.5m, though smaller than, say, that of what now appears to be the Capitolium of Lugdunum,[129] and evidently supported an octostyle temple comparable to provincial temples elsewhere, notably the monumental structure shown on coins of Tarraco struck under Tiberius (above, p. 43). Even if everything was to hand at the outset, the analogy of examples at Rome suggests that five years would have been desperately short time to complete so large-scale a building by 13th October, A.D. 54. The point is of interest for the fact that normally a temple was not dedicated and put into use until finished or very nearly so; the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome is a rare example of the latter case.[130]

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[127] So Liebeschuetz (1989) 322, observing that Seneca's text states quite definitely that Claudius had a temple in Britain at the time of his death, and before his deification. On this view "the temple at Colchester was 'constituted' for Claudius in his lifetime". For a new variation on the thesis see recently Clauss (1996) 425–6, *id.* (1999) 95–7, cf. 101, taking the living Claudius to have been worshipped at the temple as Divus Claudius.

[128] Fishwick, Temple of Divus Claudius (1995) 12–13. See further Vol. III, 3, 135–7 with Pl. 123.

[129] Hull (1958) 162–8; cf. Richmond, *ibid.* xxvii; Vol. I, 2, 196 with n. 8; Drury (1984) 24. For the *podium* (32 x 41m) which supported the temple in the grounds of the convent of the Verbe Incarné on the plateau of Fourvière see Lasfargues–Le Glay (1980) 394–414. Re-assessment of the building now suggests this was the Capitolium of Lugdunum rather than the municipal temple. See now Di Vita-Évrard (2001).

A further factor at Camulodunum, one that counts decisively against completion by this date, is the all-important matter of funding. Resources to support the costs of the temple will surely have had to be tapped locally. With no pot of gold available at once (one would presume) it will surely have taken time for levies to be exacted and financial means to accrue. All this suggests a time-frame far in excess of the few years between A.D. 49 (at the very earliest) and October, A.D. 54. Support for this scenario may well be supplied by the testimony of Tacitus: *delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant* (*Ann.* 14, 31). Whose fortune the priests were expending raises an important question.[131] The usual interpretation is that they poured out all *their own* funds in supporting the costs associated with the imperial cult.[132] It is certainly true that the priesthood came to be a very costly burden, primarily in regard to the provision of games associated with high festivals of the imperial cult, notably the emperor's *dies natalis*. We have, for example, a well-known inscription from Italica in Baetica, a copy of a decree of the Senate regarding the reduction of expenditures by provincial priests on gladiators.[133] But we have no knowledge of such games at Camulodunum between A.D. 50 and 60, the date of the rebellion: if games were given at all in those early years, they would surely have been on a small scale.[134] Otherwise the expenses associated with the cult will have been sacrifices, that of a victim probably only on important feast days.[135] One may well ask, therefore, whether such expenses would have been ruinously high at this stage. Supposing they were, we have a maximum number of less than ten priests who could theoretically have held office before A.D. 60, even in the unlikely event that the cult began at once in A.D. 49/50. If these were beggared by the costs of the cult, would the financial ruin of a handful of priests be a principal cause of a nation-wide rebellion against Rome[136]?

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[130] Vol. I, 2, 197. Similarly the temple of Venus Genetrix was dedicated on 26 September, 46 B.C., before construction was completed. See further Ulrich (1993) 49–80 with list of Republican temples (p. 69), some of which may likewise have not been fully completed when dedicated.

[131] Fishwick, Temple of Divus Claudius (1995) 14–15.

[132] So recently Clauss (1999) 405.

[133] Vol. II, 1, 574–84, especially 579–80, citing *CIL* 2, 6278 (= *ILS* 5163); cf. Vol. I, 1, 136.

[134] At Lugdunum construction of a modest *podium* for the amphitheatre along with the levelling of an *area* was evidently undertaken *ca.* A.D 19 by C. Iulius Rufus—some thirty years after the establishment of the provincial cult of the Three Gauls *ad aram*: Vol. I, 1, 133–4; below, pp. 92–3. For the supposed amphitheatre at Camulodunum see Hull (1958) 106 (*insula* 13); Golvin (1988) 91, no. 50. But these remains are now taken to be those of the theatre; cf. Drury (1984) 23, fig. 11.

[135] Vol. II, 1, 515–18.

Tacitus' statement takes on altered meaning if *omnis* has rather the (perfectly good Latin) sense of *omnium*—the priests were pouring out *everyone's* fortune under the pretext of religion.[137] In what way, in that case, was everyone's wealth being consumed? So far as we know, no provincial cult was supported by a contribution paid on a regular basis before the introduction of the *stips annua* in Tres Galliae, probably under Vespasian. Quite clearly we are confronted with a special situation in Britain, for which the most plausible explanation is that the priests were imposing levies on the population at large in order to support the costs of the temple.[138] The fact that these were still in progress is underlined by the imperfect tense of *effundebant.* But if on-going exactions of this kind were a factor in the rebellion, then the temple was still under construction in A.D. 60. Such will certainly have been the case if work had not started until after Claudius' death, very probably so too even if begun before A.D. 54, a possibility there is reason to discount on other grounds.

A further point surely reinforces this conclusion. Tacitus describes the temple as *divo Claudio constitutum* but makes no reference to its dedication.[139] The ritual associated with the building of a temple is reasonably clear. Following a "constitution" rite—a religious observance roughly equivalent to our modern civil ceremony of breaking the sod (below, pp. 82–3)—work could begin on construction; once this was complete, or nearly so, the building was dedicated and so given over to the god whose cult it henceforth served.[140] At Camulodunum, however, if the temple had been put into cultic service by 13 October, A.D. 54 it must already have been dedicated. Even if begun after this date and not finished—following the rebellion—until, say, the Flavian period, it must still have been dedicated a good forty years before Tacitus was writing his account. Of the two ceremonies "constitution" and dedication, the more important was evidently the dedication of an altar or temple. This was its *dies natalis* and an event to record in the calendar, though the "constitution" of an altar is occasionally noticed. So Suetonius in referring to the Altar of the Three Gauls says that Claudius was born in 10 B.C. *eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est* (*Cl.* 2, 1). Yet Tacitus shows interest only in the fact that the temple was "constituted" to Divus Claudius and omits all mention of its dedication. The likeliest explanation is surely that in A.D. 60 the temple which was such a factor in the rebellion against Roman control was "constituted" but *not yet* dedicated: in which case it must still have been under construction and hence *not yet* in service. A similar inference may well be possible from Tacitus' simile in the variant reading *quasi ara aeternae dominationis* (*Ann.* 14, 31); see below, p. 91.

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[136] For the impossible suggestion that Tacitus' remark applies to provinces in general and Gaul in particular see Le Roux (1994) 401. A glance at the text shows that Tacitus is referring to one of the causes of the British revolt.

[137] Vol. I, 2, 216 with nn. 98–9.

[138] The provincial temple at Tarraco was built at the request of the provincials themselves (Tac., *Ann.* I, 78), so presumably financed by the provincial elite. See now Pensabene (1996) 203–11; Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 53. Presumably the same is true of the provincial temple of Lusitania at Emerita. In Tres Galliae, the region which most resembled Britain, a *stips annua* looks to have been paid into a federal chest from the reign of Vespasian, yet construction of a provincial temple was deferred until the reign of Hadrian (below, pp. 154–5, 182–5). Was Roman experience in Britain, where such a temple led to disaster, responsible for the long interval between provincial altar and provincial temple at Lugdunum?

[139] Vol. I, 2, 216.

Secondly, a temple to the living Claudius must have been a politically unfeasible project whether undertaken by Claudius or the senate. It has been suggested that Claudius either built a temple to himself without reference to the Senate, the competent authority is such matters at Rome, or forced through the senate the unparalled proposal to build a temple to the living emperor in Britain. Yet this is completely contrary to everything we know of Claudius' outlook on divine honours, which was cast very much in the mould of Augustus. Evidence of Claudius' aversion to this sort of ostentation has been adduced repeatedly in previous discussion:[141] his refusal of the Alexandrians' offer of a high priest and temple establishments as vulgar (φορτικός) in the eyes of (Roman) contemporaries; very similar sentiments in a letter to the Thasians; fear of seeming excessively arrogant (*nimis insolentior*), as expressed in the Lyons tablet. It is all very well to put Camulodunum in the context of the raw north-west but the issue had to be dealt with by the Senate in Rome. What mattered, therefore, was public opinion in the capital. The information we have suggests that Claudius would not have wanted to risk giving offence by openly breaking with Augustan precedent and the standard official policy of "refusing" divine honours, ambivalent though that may have been in practice.[142] Such a step is inconceivable on the part of an emperor who early in A.D. 43 finally dedicated the Ara Pietatis Augustae (*CIL* 6, 562 = *ILS* 202) decreed by the Senate in A.D. 22, apparently on behalf of the *salus* of the ailing Livia (Tac., *Ann.* 3, 64).[143]

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[140] *Ibid.* 203–13. For the claim that the "Temple of Claudius" was begun in the lifetime of Claudius and "constituted" after his deification see Clauss (1996) 425–6; *id.* (1999) 96, following Simpson (1993) 3. As the temple could not have been put into cultic service until duly dedicated, normally on completion of construction, this would put "constitution" at the end rather than the beginning of the ritual process.

[141] Vol. I, 2, 198–9; Fishwick (1991) 137.

As for the possibility that the Senate itself decreed a temple to Claudius in his lifetime, Augustus had ordained in the winter of 30/29 B.C. that he would accept no temple except in conjunction with Roma and the only exception we know to this regulation is that at Smyrna a temple was permitted to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate—here replacing Roma (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 15). A similar request for a temple in Baetica was forbiden, it should be noted (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 15). Otherwise Tacitus reports that a temple to Augustus was permitted at the request of the Spaniards—but in A.D. 15, at a time when he was dead and deified (*Ann.* 1, 78). Most, if not all, of these decisions look to have been taken at meetings of the Senate.[144] That this body will have broken openly with Augustan policy in this single instance at Camulodunum—against Claudius' express wishes and contrary to declared public policy—looks altogether inconceivable.

Nor again can the temple have been municipal. A civic structure was freely decided upon by the local town council and local worthies competed for the honour of serving as priest with the statutory fee (*summa honoraria*) that the office could entail. How, then, can such a temple have been a cause for national rebellion? An interesting point which does obtain is that several provincial capitals which were the site of a provincial enclosure with a provincial temple are known to have also boasted a municipal temple—Narbo Martius and Emerita certainly, possibly Tarraco also.[145] Evidence for a municipal temple seems to have not yet surfaced at Camulodunum but what is self-evident is that the *podium* beneath Colchester castle cannot be that of a municipal structure. A civic temple of the imperial cult was regularly located on or by the forum at the centre of a town and at this stage was often so placed as to benefit from the prestige of the Capitolium.[146] Whatever the disposition of buildings on the town *forum* at Camulodunum may have been, the *podium* is placed in the eastern sector of the town, on the fringe of the settlement—precisely where other provincial temples are situated (Pl. 12).[147] This pivotal circumstance at once confirms, therefore, the provincial status of the temple long known at Camulodunum and excludes any connection with a possible municipal imperial temple, of which we at present have no knowledge.

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[142] For the refusal formula see Fishwick, Maecenas (1990) 271–2.

[143] For the theological implication of Pietas Augusta see Vol. II, 1, 455–74, especially 457ff.

[144] Le Roux (1994) 400–1, finds it astonishing that a temple to Divus Claudius in Britannia should be attributed to a decision of the Senate "alors qu'on est dans une province à peine conquise et impériale". For the competence of the Senate in such matters—whether in imperial or "senatorial" provinces—see Vol. I, 2, 212–13; cf. I, 1, 150–1; Price (1984) 66–7 with n. 53. See further Beard–North (1990) 31. On the relationship between the Senate and the emperor see Millar (1977) 341–55. The request of the Spanish embassy in A.D. 15 to build a provincial temple at Tarraco came from Hispania Citerior, an imperial province.

Equally impossible is the notion that Ostorius Scapula was the person ultimately responsible for the temple[148]—in which case a private initiative would not have required approval by the Senate in Rome. It is not inconceivable that the provincial governor brought up at some stage the idea of a temple to the conqueror of Britain and that the Senate ultimately acted upon it for its own reasons (below, pp. 88–9). But then this would not have been a "private" temple. If, on the other hand, Ostorius Scapula erected a "private" temple at Camulodunum, how could *delecti sacerdotes* have served at it? And how could such a temple—surely endowed by Ostorius Scapula himself in that case—have been one of the major causes of Boudicca's rebellion[149]? The best-known model we have for such a private temple of the imperial cult, apparently unparalleled in the Latin provinces at least, is the younger Pliny's temple at Tifernum, which was built on land donated by the local *curia* and paid for by Pliny himself, the town patron. The shrine is the subject of an exchange of letters between Trajan and Pliny, who wished to make it imperial by setting up a statue of the emperor with those of earlier emperors which he had inherited.[150] This does not fit the picture our sources give of the temple at Camulodunum, especially if the local inhabitants had to support the costs of construction. Nor for that matter is it easy to see how such a private temple could have been the object of Seneca's sneer.

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[145] Vol. I, 2, 243–9; Fishwick, Tarraco (1996) 172–4; *id.*, Temple of Augustus (1999) 136–7.

[146] Gros (1986) 111–17; Fishwick, Camulodunum (1997) 32–4.

[147] Obvious parallels are the provincial forums at Tarraco and Narbo Martius, both of which lay on the edge of the town as at Camulodunum. The federal sanctuary at Lugdunum in contrast lay a kilometre or so up-stream from the city.

[148] Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 353, n. 113, argue for a temple to Claudius in his lifetime and cite by way of parallel a temple for the emperor built in A.D. 166–9 by a tribe in Arabia on the encouragement of the governor. How this can compare with a temple in Britain built by decision of the senate (*templum divo Claudio constitutum*) is difficult to see.

[149] For the claim that outside Rome a local council or private individual might erect a temple "at the expense of the Emperor or his deputy" see Stambaugh (1978) 566 with n. 82 and refs. In the example cited in support, that of Pliny's temple at Tifernum, Pliny explicitly states that he built the temple *pecunia mea* (*Ep.* 4, 1, 5–6).

ii. The Temple of Divus Claudius

The early development of provincial cult in the Latin west shows beyond question that the worship of the living emperor was associated with an altar whereas a temple was appropriate rather to the cult of the deified dead. The consolidation of unruly provinces as in north-west Spain or Gaul like the annexation of new territories as in Germany called for the establishment of an altar dedicated, wherever one can tell or reasonably infer, to Roma and Augustus. In the well-Romanized provinces of Hither Spain or Lusitania, in contrast, the installation of the cult of Divus Augustus was associated with a temple, requested in the former case at least by the provincials themselves. When the cult of the *divi* was added in Tres Galliae under Hadrian, a temple was constructed adjoining the federal altar.[151] It follows that, if Claudius was worshipped at Camulodunum in his lifetime, the appropriate monument would have been first an altar, then only *post mortem* a temple; a temple to Claudius in his lifetime would have been contrary to all precedent, in practice a contradiction in terms. In light of this established pattern, therefore, the key literary passages are clearly worth a second look.

The "constitution" of altars and temples, to the extent that this can reconstructed, has been treated in detail earlier.[152] In the case of temples the term *constitutum* seems to imply that a decree of the Senate authorizing construction was first marked by a religious observance. The ritual evidently included a procedure by which an augur defined the boundaries of the *temenos* and named the god whom the area was to serve. The precinct was apparently then consecrated by the pontiff and a sacrifice possibly performed at a temporary altar in the precinct. Despite arguments to the contrary,[153] there is no sound reason to doubt that Tacitus is using *constitutum* in the technical sense in *Ann.* 14, 31. Whether the author refers to a rite caried out at Camulodunum or to the prior senatorial decree can hardly be said. Tacitus certainly draws on the *Acta Senatus* at this part of his Annals and one might well wonder where he could have found information about a rite carried out in far-off Britain.[154] In any event the rite of "constitution" entailed a prior decision or "constitution" of the senate, so whatever Tacitus' precise meaning may have been, the end result is the same. Equally significant in the present context, examination of the uses of *divus* in Tacitus reveals that the word is used in the technical sense of a consecrated emperor in all cases where the context is religious or legal.[155] It follows that by *templum divo Claudio constitutum* Tacitus means that the building was "constituted to Divus Claudius", not "built to Claudius of happy memory". The temple was consequently posthumous,[156] an inference plainly consistent with the conclusion we have reached earlier, namely that it is politically inconceivable the Senate would have broken with precedent and decreed a temple to the living Claudius.

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[150] Vol. II, 1, 525, citing similar examples at Soriano and Gabii; Rives (1995) 180.

[151] Vol. I, 2, 308–16; below, pp. 182–5.

[152] Vol. I, 2, 203–13.

Much the same picture emerges from re-examination of Seneca's sneer (*Apoc.*, 8, 3). The first point to be made is that the passage occurs in the prelude to the debate on Olympus, which Seneca claims to have taken place on 13 October, A.D. 54, immediately following the decree of Claudius' deification on earth: *quid actum sit in caelo ante diem III idus Octobris anno novo, initio saeculi felicissimi, volo memoriae tradere* (*Apoc.* 1. 1).[157]

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[153] Simpson (1993) 3. *Contra* Fishwick, Temple of Divus Claudius (1995) 18–20.

[154] Vol. I, 2, 213, suggesting perhaps the hypothetical memoirs of Suetonius Paulinus or Pliny's encyclopedia.

[155] Vol. I, 2, 214–15. For the fallacy that *divus* can be used of the living emperor see Clauss (1996) 426 with n. 307, 433 and *passim*; *id.* (1999) 22ff. *et passim.*

[156] Le Roux (1994) 400, confuses the issue: "Reste le temple du divin Claude à Camulodunum et la remarque de Tacite [*Ann.* 14, 31, 4]: *ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum, quasi arx* … . Indépendamment des questions de chronologie, alors que la divinisation de Claude est attestée clairement par Suétone [*Claud.* 45] et Tacite [*Ann.* 12, 69, 4], … ." This hangs chronological questions on the fact of Claudius' deification. But no-one has ever doubted that Claudius was deified; the two references are entirely irrelevant.

[157] Fishwick (1991) 138; *id.*, Deification (2002) 341–2. Followed by Clauss (1996) 425; *id.* (1999) 95.

The point at issue is whether what has been been already decided on earth is acceptable on Olympus.[158] Diespiter, the son of Vica Pota, moves that Divus Claudius should be a god just like anyone before him who became a god with the best justification and that a record of the matter should be added to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: *censeo uti divus Claudius ex hac die deus sit ita uti ante eum quis optimo iure factus sit, eamque rem ad Metamorphosis Ovidi adieciendam* (9, 5). When this motion looks like carrying, Divus Augustus proposes that, as a punishment for his many murders, Divus Claudius should rather be deported as soon as possible: he ought to leave heaven within thirty days and Olympus within three (*ibid.*).[159] On the adoption of this amendment, Mercury hurries Divus Claudius off to Hades for trial. The circumstance that en route along the Via Sacra they come across the funeral of Claudius clearly shows that according to Seneca's skit the vote for deification had come well before the funeral (*Apoc.* 12–13, 1).[160] The point is confirmed by the author's sneer that you could tell at a glance it was a god being carried for burial, so splendid was the send-off, with no effort spared: *et erat omnium formosissimum et impensa cura, plane ut scires deum efferri* (12.1).[161]

That Seneca's jear occurs in the context of the decree of deification is further emphasised by his claim that savages now worship Claudius and, as if he were a god, pray "to happen on the fool when well-disposed". One would have thought that "*ut deum*" is a clear reference to the fact that Claudius has just been granted the status of *divus* but is not yet a real god in the eyes of the Olympians.[162] This inference looks corroborated by the way Seneca pictures the barbarians praying to him. Given that the skit is aimed at a Roman audience, the parody must surely be understood in terms of Roman ideas, so it is very relevant that, while nothing confirms that petitionary prayers were ever made to the living emperor,[163] there seems to be scattered evidence for a popular belief that consecrated emperors were able to hear and answer prayer, particularly good *divi* such as Divus Augustus or Divus Marcus Aurelius.[164] What we appear to have in Seneca's gibe is a further passage to add to the corpus, another trace of the idea of prayer to a deified emperor: Seneca, that is, portrays the Britons praying to Claudius in his capacity as *divus*, a consecrated deceased emperor. Attention may be drawn in this connection particularly to the Greek phrase μωϱοῦ εὐιλάτου τυχεῖν—Seneca snidely substitutes μωϱοῦ for ϑεοῦ (god).[165] Weinstock has argued strongly that any new god was acclaimed *propitius*, an expression of the hope that he would be merciful,[166] and the Historia Augusta reports of Marcus Aurelius:

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[158] Eden (1984) 113 *ad* 9, 5. Cf. *Apoc.* 5, 1, where Seneca remarks that that the proceedings on earth are too well known to need recounting. For an overview of the debate on Olympus see Price (1987) 87–9, 91.

[159] For a summmary of the charges against Claudius see Eden (1984) 10–11.

[160] Strictly speaking, the funeral would not have taken place until 18 October if the same plan was followed as at Augustus' funeral, since for five days after his death Augustus lay in state; cf. Barrett (1996) 147.

[161] Tacitus too places the decree of deification before Claudius' funeral on 18 October: *caelestesque honores Claudio decernuntur et funeris sollemne perinde ac divo Augusto celebratur, aemulante Agrippina proaviae Liviae magnificentiam* (*Ann.* 12, 69, 4); *decreti et a senatu duo lictores, flamonium Claudiale, simul Claudio censorium funus et mox consecratio* (*Ann.* 13, 2, 6). The testimony of Suetonius, in contrast, has been taken to place the senate's vote *after* the funeral: *funeratusque est solemni principum pompa et in numerum deorum relatus; quem honorem a Nerone destitutum abolitumque recepit mox per Vespasianum* (*Claud.* 45); *orsus hinc a pietatis ostentatione Claudium apparatissimo funere elatum laudavit et consecravit* (*Nero* 9). For discussion see Fishwick, Deification (2002) 342–7, arguing that the two passages in Suetonius refer rather to the final stage in the process of apotheosis, the lighting of the funeral pyre (*rogus*). On this view the evidence of Suetonius is complementary rather than contradictory to that of Tacitus and the account of neither author is in conflict with the circumstance that Seneca's sneer in *Apoc.* 8, 3 is consequent upon the decree passed by the senate just after Claudius' death.

> *denique priusquam funus conderetur, ut plerique dicunt, quod numquam antea factum fuerat neque postea, senatus populusque non divisis locis sed in una sede propitium deum dixit* (*M. Ant.* 18, 3).[167]

What follows clearly from this episode is that such an acclamation was part of the ritual of apotheosis, on Weinstock's view the final rite and one taken over from the long-standing ritual of the gods.[168] In that case it must have taken place after the funeral, the concluding act of which was the firing of the pyre to secure the apotheosis of the deceased. In light of this procedure, the use of the term εὐιλάτου (well-disposed) looks particularly appropriate to a newly consecrated *divus*, a further indication that at the dramatic moment of the remark Claudius is a consecrated emperor who in some sense has a temple in Britain (*habet*).

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[162] Cf. Apoc. 11, 3–4: *hunc nunc deum facere vultis? ... hunc deum quis colet? quis credet?* For the suggestion that *ut deum* in 8, 3 is an intrusive gloss also see Eden (1984) 105.

[163] Fishwick, Offerings (1990); *id.*, Prayer (1992).

[164] Fishwick (1991) 140, n. 26 with refs.; *id.*, *Numinibus* (1994) 134–5.

[165] For a similar substitution see *Apoc.* 7, 3 with Eden (1984) 95, 105–6.

[166] *Id.*, *RE* 23, 1 (1957) 822–6, citing Livy 29, 14, 13; Macrob., *Sat.*, 3, 9, 8.

[167] The *quod* clause surely means that in the case of Marcus Aurelius the rite of acclamation took place *before* the funeral, an unprecedented procedure; see Weinstock in *RE* 23, 1 (1957) 824. *Contra* the Loeb translation (Magie), understanding that the unprecedented act was the concerted action of Senate and people in acclaiming Marcus a propitious god not in separate places but in one. In practice the consent of the *comitia* to the consecration of an emperor, though apparently required by the Lex Papiria, seems not to have been sought (Caesar's case is an exception); as a rule, the Senate alone decided and its decree was sufficient, without confirmation by the assembly. See Weinstock (1971) 390 with refs. The circumstance that the Senate and the people acted together in this instance was no doubt also unusual.

[168] *Id.*, *RE* 23, 1 (1957) 824–5; (1971) 390–1.

Quite independently, then, of the evidence of Tacitus, *Ann.* 14, 31, the Seneca passage reflects a situation that has plainly arisen as a result of rather than prior to the decree of *caelestes honores.* Of course Seneca is indulging here in imaginative prolepsis. It is impossible that a matter of hours(?) after the decree of consecration Claudius could have been paid cult as *divus* in Britain, still less that a temple to him as Divus Claudius could have already been built at Camulodunum.[169] Strictly speaking, too, Claudius will have not yet been acclaimed *propitius*, so the author is plainly giving free rein to his literary license. The only possible interpretation of *habet* would seem to be that a decree has just been passed providing for a temple at Camulodunum.[170] As this was "constituted" to Divus Claudius, the motion must have either been a rider to the decree of apothesois or a supplementary proposal passed immediately afterwards at the same sitting of the Senate. Whatever the exact course of events it seems reasonable to trace Seneca's remark to the passage of a measure authorizing a temple at Camulodunum.

This reconstruction looks strongly supported by a further consideration. As Weinstock points out, the decree of *consecratio* will have created the statutes of the new cult, the *lex templi*; this provided for the name of the new god, his priest and his temple:[171] all belong together.[172] Of particular interest in this connection is the whereabouts of the temple of Divus Claudius in Rome. That a location on the Mons Caelius was deliberately insulting has recently been demonstrated by R. Turcan, whose penetrating commentary brings out the full implications of the site.[173] In the first place the temple was clearly relegated to the perimeter of the historical and political centre of Rome in preference to areas that in A.D. 53 were still available near, say, the Capitol or the Palatine. This suggests that Divus Claudius has been deliberately side-lined, put *hors circuit.* More obviously, the Caelian hill had ambiguous Etruscan associations.[174] According to Tacitus the place had been occupied by an Etruscan chief, Caeles Vibenna (*Ann.* 4, 65, 1), whom Claudius transforms in the Lyon tablet into a comrade-in-arms of Servius Tullius. On this version of the tradition the hill was named *a duce suo* by Servius Tullius, a stranger who as king of Rome instituted the census and included other strangers in the city. Turcan suggests that in establishing an Etruscologist, apparently himself of Etruscan descent,[175] on a hill that had been the stronghold of an Etruscan bandit the senate will in practice have been mocking Claudius, who as censor extended citizenship wholesale; cf. *Apoc.* 3, 3. On a more vicious level the Mons Caelius was notorious for it meat market and brothels,[176] establishments suited to Claudius' low tastes, with the result that the new god will have been well lodged to indulge his vices. Quite clearly the choice of location was intended to perpetuate the bad image of the deceased emperor that his enemies were anxious to parade and the malicious humour of the site can hardly have been lost on those in the know.

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[169] *Contra* Clauss (1999) 95–6.

[170] Vol. I, 2, 201–2.

[171] *Id.* (1971) 390–4. Price (1987) 77, adds a priestly college, noting that the "heavenly honours" could be voted singly or together to the new (therefore existing) *divus*.

[172] In *Annals* 13, 2, 6 (above, n. 161) Tacitus makes no mention of the funeral but lists first the grant of two lictors (to Agrippina), the establishment of a priesthood of Claudius (held by Agripina) and the vote of a censorial funeral—then after an interval (*et mox*) the decree of apothesois. For the view that *et mox* must refer to a subsequent step *at the same meeting* of the Senate, not to a later session supposedly held after the funeral, see Fishwick, Deification (2002) 344–5. On this interpretation there was an interval in the proceedings when discussion presumably centred on further details of the cult, in particular the whereabouts of the temple of Divus Claudius. For the term *funus censorium* see Price (1987) 64.

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[173] Turcan, *Templum* (1998) 161–7. For the point that temples of the *divi* were positioned as a rule on prominent sites see Price (1987) 77–8.

[174] The choice of site will have been the prerogative of the senate without reference to Agrippina. As Suetonius attributes the beginning of construction to her initiative (Suet., *Vesp.* 9, 1), Turcan, *Templum* (1998) 164–5, suggests she may nevertheless have suggested the site on the pretext of respecting the Etruscan connections of Claudius but in reality to spite the man whom she had just murdered—or who had opportunely died a natural death, whatever the facts may have been: see Barrett (1998) 140–2. Some intervention on the part of Agrippina certainly looks probable in light of the lictors and priesthood she had already been granted. In any event the senate seized the opportunity to locate the temple where it would in fact ridicule Divus Claudius. Most of Agrippina's building is lost but it seems clear that the original temple, while rebuilt by Vespasian, was on a scale that matched the magnificence with which she had celebrated Claudius' funeral in emulation of Livia's extravagant obsequies of Augustus (Tac., *Ann.* 12, 69, 4). Energetic promotion of the cult of Divus Claudius suited Agrippina's political purposes, of course. On the remains of the temple of Divus Claudius see Barrett (1996) 148–50. Turcan, *Templum* (1998) 167, plays down the reconstruction of the temple by Vespasian: 'Si plus tard, Vespasian l'a reconstruit et rendu officiellement au cult du *divus*, c'est pour en faire un lieu de détente et de refraîchissement, dont Martial appréciait les ombrages' (*Spect.* 2, 9–10).

[175] Turcan, *Templum* (1998) 163–4 with refs.

[176] Turcan, *Templum* (1998) 165–6, citing Valentini-Zucchetti (1940) 1, 92–3 with n. 1. *Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIII cum brebiariis* (sic) *suis, Regio II Caelomontium*, lines 12–14: *Claudium* | *Macellum Magnum* | *Lupanarios* (for *Luparios*); p. 166. *Notitia Urbis Regionum XIIII cum breviariis suis, Regio II Caelemontium*, lines 6–8: *Templum Claudii* | *Macellum Magnum* | *Lupanarios*; p. 209 with n. 1. Regional Catalogue of Pomponius Laetus (see 193–9), *Regio II Caelemontium*, lines 2–5: *Templum Claudii* | *Macellum Magnum* | [*Campus Martialis*: misplaced] | *Lupariae.*

If the establishment of the new god on the Mons Caelius was a deliberate snub on the part of the senate, the same can surely be said of the temple at Camulodunum. So far two provincial temples had been authorized or put under construction in the western provinces, both to Divus Augustus. The first was located at Tarraco, a town that was the capital of a long Romanized province and one which had for a few short years been the centre of the world as the headquarters of Augustus, who began there his seventh and eight consulships.[177] If Tarraco was a city that could compete with Pompeii in its allegiance to the emperor, Emerita, the capital of Lusitania, was the most Romanized town in Spain. The location of its provincial centre with the temple shown on local coins—a direct copy of that represented on issues of Tarraco in all but the structure of the temple itself—is still uncertain, but the existence of a Claudian *forum adiectum* is now assured. Like the complex on the upper level of the provincial forum at Tarraco this too copied the architectural and architectonic scheme of the Forum Augustum at Rome.[178] In short both Tarraco and Emerita were eminently respectable, cultivated centres, entirely suited to house a temple of Divus Augustus.

In contrast Camulodunum was a far different proposition, another world in comparison with Tarraco and Emerita. As the capital of a raw and uncivilized province, this gods-forsaken outpost on the outer fringe of empire was an ideal site at which to ridicule Divus Claudius. If the absurd new god could be marginalized at Rome, why not set him definitively beyond the pale by shipping him off to Britain? Just the ticket for a deified fool fit to hear the prayers of savages in the barbarous land over which he had celebrated a pathetic triumph. From the perspective of Rome, then, the decision to build a temple to Divus Claudius at Camulodunum looks as much a snub as the choice of the Mons Caelius for his temple in Rome. The location of both sites

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Turcan argues (*ibid.*) that, though the market was opened by Nero, it will in all probability have been a project of Claudius.

[177] Fishwick, Tarraco (1996) 165.

[178] Fishwick, Forum (2000) 97–9; Vol. III, 3, 63–4.

reflects the same malice, the same intention to ridicule the ludicrous *divus* whose apotheosis was an easy target for Seneca's malice.[179] More particularly for present purposes, the link between the two temples corroborates the view that the structure at Camulodunum was built to Claudius *after* his death and deification.

iii. An Altar to Roma and Augustus?

For all the sniggers at Rome the temple was no joke in Britain, where by Tacitus's report chosen priests had to collect contributions all round: *delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant* (Tac., *Ann.* 14. 31). The term the historian uses is *sacerdotes*, the word documented epigraphically for the priests of Roma and Augustus at the federal altar of Tres Galliae, also the expression he uses of Segimundus, *sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum*, on his defection from Rome (*Ann.* 1, 57, 2). The term appropriate to provincial cult at a temple, in contrast, is *flamen*—undoubtedly because the cult was originally addressed to the deified Augustus.[180] If Tacitus uses *sacerdos* here in its technical sense, this would suggest that a provincial worship centred on Camulodunum was already in existence, in which case analogy strongly suggests that such a cult will have been founded in Claudius' lifetime and directed to Roma and Augustus. The word *delecti* presumably then implies election by an early council of Britannia.

As has been emphasized throughout, no epigraphical or numismatic evidence for provincial cult survives in Britain; one is limited for the most part to what can be made of the literary sources. Even so, significant archaeological evidence appears to point in this direction. Before the face of the temple occur traces of a large, monumental altar, the proportions of which suggest it could well have been the original centre of the cult (Vol. III, 3, Pl. 124).[181] Furthermore Tacitus reports among other prodigies that a statue of Victory at Camulodunum fell for no obvious reason and turned its back as if retreating from the enemy:

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[179] These were years of senatorial freedom of action, a period marked by remarkably harmonious relations with the emperor: see in general Griffin (1984) 50–82. The other side of the senate's new-found independence was its outright adulation of Nero, now a young man of seventeen. In return for following the advice of the senate in his ephemeral victory over Vologeses Nero was rewarded among other honours with a statue, equal in height to that of the idol, to be erected in the temple of Mars Ultor (Tac., *Ann.* 13, 8, 1: A.D. 54). Such a colossal statue, presumably placed alongside the cult image, was an honour far in excess of anything Augustus had dared accept. Even so, things went too far when the consul designate, Cerialis Anicius, proposed that Nero should be given a temple as *divus* before his death, an unprecedented idea that apparently Nero himself rejected for superstitious reasons—the text is corrupt at this point (Tac., *Ann.* 15, 74: A.D. 65); cf. Fishwick, Bas-relief (1991) 274–7.

[180] Vol. I, 1, 165–7. In Tres Galliae the existing title *sacerdos* was retained when the cult was extended under Hadrian to include deified emperors and a provincial temple constructed.

> *inter quae nulla palam causa delapsum Camuloduni simulacrum Victoriae ac retro conversum quasi cederet hostibus* (*Ann.* 14, 32)

The word Tacitus uses is *simulacrum*, normally the *termus technicus* for a cult statue rather than an ornamental statue, for which the term is *statua*.[182] The reference could be to a cult statue in a temple of Victory at Camulodunum—except that, so far at least, there seems to be no certain trace of such a temple at the colony nor for that matter anywhere else in Britain.[183] The logical interpretation is consequently to refer Tacitus' *simulacrum* to one of two statues that conceivably attended the altar on the model of the architectonic scheme at Lugdunum.[184] While not strictly speaking cult statues, similar Victory columns at Camulodunum would be manifestly in a religious context and hence justify Tacitus' allusion to a *simulacrum* of Victory. Their presence at Camulodunum would in that case be entirely consistent with the whole 'Theology of Victory' in commemorating Claudius' conquest of Britain[185] and certainly suit a colony, grandly named *Colonia Victricensis* and in all probability the early capital of the province conquered by Claudius. Whether such statues can be linked with the remains of bases that flank the altar or stand to its rear is a problem best left for later discussion.[186] In any event there seems good reason to infer the existence at Camulodunum of a monument similar to that at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls.

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[181] For detailed discussion see below Vol. III, 3, 142–3.

[182] Daut (1975) 32–8; Fishwick (1987) 64 with nn. 12–14 and refs. *ad* Suet., *Aug.* 17 (*simulacrum divi Iuli*); cf. Suet., *Tib.* 26, 1 (*simulacra deorum*). For Tacitean uses of *simulacrum* see Gerber-Greef (1877–90) 2, 1507, listing 13 examples of *simulacrum* in a specifically cultic context (including *Ann.* 14, 32, 1). One exception is the *aureum tauri simulacrum* in the Forum Boarium (*Ann.* 12, 24, 2), which Tacitus nevertheless mentions in the religious context of the circumscription of the *pomerium* by a plough drawn by a bull. In *Agricola* 46, 3 there is a figurative usage: ... *ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt*... .

[183] See Crummy (1980) 243–83; Lewis (1966) 66, 78–9, 104, 127, 136. Koestermann (1968) 4, 88, suggests that the *simulacra Victoriae* stood either in the temple itself (surely impossible) or on an open place.

[184] For the Victory columns at Lugdunum see Vol. 1, 1, Pls. I, XI–XVII.

[185] For the background see Vol. I, 1, 111–18 with special reference to the symbolism of the twin Victories at Lugdunum.

[186] See below, Vol. III, 3, 143–5 with Pls. 122, 124.

A final point turns on the variant reading of *Annals* 14, 31: *quasi ara aeternae dominationis.*[187] If construction of the temple had not begun until after Claudius' death in A.D. 54—in practice therefore not before A.D. 55—then the building would presumably have been fairly well advanced, though short of completion by A.D. 60. At all events we are told that a small body of troops took refuge in the structure, which withstood a two-day's siege (Tac., *Ann.* 14, 32, 2–3). One wonders, therefore, whether the term *arx*, which conjures up a tall, dominating structure, would yet be appropriate to a building in the process of construction—unless by considerable stretch of the imagination. In contrast the simile *quasi ara aeternae dominationis* would suit very well if the temple was partly built and the altar still the principal structure. The reference to eternal domination would, of course, be entirely in keeping with the presence of statues of Victory atop two tall columns. Looked at in this way, therefore, the variant text of Tacitus with the reading *ara* not only reinforces the argument that in A.D. 60 the temple was still in the process of construction but also supports the existence of a cult originally based on an altar.

Despite the unsatisfactory nature of the available evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that in the lifetime of Claudius the provincial cult of Britannia centred on an altar that served the cult of the reigning emperor, quite possibly with Roma. Nothing supports the old idea that the temple at Colchester existed before Claudius' decease but there seems every reason to suppose that such a temple was constructed following his death and immediate deification. The hand of the Senate can be seen behind this development just as the Senate was responsible for the malicious location of the temple of Divus Claudius on the Mons Caelius at Rome. A few years later by Tacitus' account the financial burden of constructing the Colchester edifice was a principal cause of the revolt of Boudicca, which effectively brought the provincial cult of Britannia to a catastrophic, if temporary, close. How long ensued before the temple was rebuilt and the cult re-started the evidence does not allow one to determine with precision.

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[187] Levick (1990) 145, 186.

Gallia Comata

Continued use of the Republican term for the territory stretching from the Pyrenees to the Rhine looks justified on two counts. In the first place the few surviving records of priesthoods from the Julio-Claudian period omit any reference to Tres Galliae, a formula that first occurs in epigraphical texts from the reign of Vespasian. Conversely, despite the tripartite division of Gaul by Augustus,[188] the old Republican expression Gallia Comata is still retained in such official documents as the text of Claudius' speech in A.D. 48 to the *primores Galliae* (*CIL* 13, 1668: 2, 31; cf. Tac., *Ann.* 11, 23, 1).[189] It would appear, then, that only from the beginning of the Flavian period did the formula Tres Galliae become fully established as the standard official designation of Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica.

i. The Federal Cult and the Amphitheatre

Evidence for provincial cult under the Julio-Claudians is restricted to three inscriptions that attest the two priesthoods of C. Iulius Rufus and C. Iulius Victor. Each of these texts confirms that the cult *ad aram* was addressed to Roma and Augustus though the priestly title itself differs slightly from record to record, that of C. Iulius Rufus at the federal sanctuary omitting mention of either the altar or the meeting of the rivers; presumably these details were deemed superfluous in a private memorial at the Confluence. In any event it seems clear that a fixed formula was not *de rigueur*.

The most important of these documents records that C. Iulius Rufus with his *nepos* was responsible for constructing the first federal amphitheatre, where the inscription itself may have been placed above an entrance (cf. *AE*, 1990, 653: Tarraco). In view of its importance the text is worth citing in full again:

> *[Pro salut]e Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti) amphitheatr.* | *[... p]odio C. Iul(ius) C. f(ilius) Rufus, sacerdos Rom(ae) et Aug(usti),* | *... filii f(ilius) et nepos, ex civitate Santon(um) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecerunt.* *ILTG* 217; Vol. I, 1, Pl. XX

The new amphitheatre is intrinsic to the evolution of the federal provincial cult since seats were reserved for the delegates of the Gallic tribes, who attended the games that concluded the annual synod of the federal *concilium* each August. An architectural outline of the structure and its second century extension are best left for later discussion,[190] but of immediate interest is the date of the *sacerdotium* of C. Iulius Rufus, in whose term construction presumably began. Previous discussion has generally attributed his priesthood to A.D. 18/19 on the basis of a triple dedication at Mediolanum Santonum (Saintes) recording that C. Iulius Rufus set up a celebrated arch to Germanicus, Tiberius and Drusus; mention of the second consulate of Germanicus, the only visible chronological reference, dates the event to between 1 January, A.D. 18, and his death at the beginning of October, A.D. 19.[191] The text concludes:

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[188] For the creation of Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica *ca.* 16–13 B.C., see Fishwick, Provinces (1994) 119–21.

[189] Maurin (1986) 111, nn. 11–14, citing also Pliny, *NH* 4, 105; *ThLL* 3, 1756.

> *C(aius) Iul[ius], C(aii) Iuli(i) C̣[a]ṭuạṇẹuni(i) f(ilius), Rufụṣ, C(aii) Iuli(i) | Ạgedomo[patis] nepos, Epoṭsọrọvidi(i) proṇ(epos), Ṿ[olt(inia)], | [sacerdos Romae et Au]g̣ụṣṭị [ad a]ṛam qu[a]ẹ eṣṭ ad Conflụenṭ[e]ṃ, | pṛaefec̣tus [fab]ṛu[m], d(e) [s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit].* *ILA* 7 (Text C)

Simply to transfer the date of dedication of this local monument to the building inscription at the federal sanctuary is nevertheless ruled out by two considerations. In the first place C. Iulius Rufus will have necessarily resided at Lugdunum during his year's tenure in order to perform the rites prescribed from time to time by the liturgical calendar of the federal cult. It is barely conceivable that a gap in these festivals could have allowed him a temporary absence in his *patria*, but if the *cursus* in given in forward order, as may well be the case, he had already held the office of *praefectus fabrum* after the federal priesthood at the time he dedicated the arch in A.D. 18/19.[192] It follows that both his *sacerdotium* and the beginning of work on the amphitheatre must be placed earlier: the authors of *ILA* 7 suggest some year in the period A.D. 10–15. Whatever the precise date, the dedication of the arch at Mediolanum Santonum necessarily refers to C. Iulius Rufus as a past priest.

The third document, also found at Saintes, is inscribed on the four sides of the mausoleum that C. Iulius Victor II set up to his father C. Iulius Victor under Tiberius or Claudius. Here again the father is given the title he had enjoyed during his priestly tenure—presumably some time earlier unless one makes the unlikely assumption that he had died in office:

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[190] See Vol. III, 3, 120–2 with Pl. 106.

[191] For commentary see Maurin (1978) 181–5; *ILA* 7, pp. 79–95.

[192] Maurin *ad ILA* 7, p. 95, 133–4. The argument assumes that there is no mention of the office of *praefectus fabrum* in *ILTG* 217, where there is a lacuna after the federal priestly title.

> *C(aio) Iulio [C]ongonnetodubni f(ilio), Volt(inia), V[icto]ri [Aged]ọ | mopati[s nepoti], praef[ecto fab]rum, [tribuno militum cohort(is) I Belg]ạrum, | sac[erd(oti) Romae et Augusti ad C]on[fluentem* vac. *C(aius) Iulius Volt(inia) | Victor fi]ḷius.*
> *ILA* 18 (Text D)

The text is of immediate interest for the details it records of the lineage of C. Iulius Victor. Comparison with the forbears of C. Iulius Rufus shows beyond question that both are cousins, members of a leading family dominant in Saintes for several generations.[193] The strong possibility arises, therefore, that the *nepos* mentioned in the building inscription of the amphitheatre is in fact C. Iulius Victor, who will have been the younger of the two. Otherwise *ILA* 18 records a priest at the Confluence who again held lower offices of the equestrian *cursus*, in this case apparently before federal office. Surprisingly, particularly in the case of the local inscriptions, none of the three texts makes any mention of municipal offices. These glimpses of the careers of federal priests, like the record of Roman citizenship granted to the grandfather of C. Iulius Rufus, call for detailed comment in later discussion.[194]

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[193] For a *stemma*, family connections and *cursus* see *ILA* 18, pp. 132–5.

[194] Vol. III, 2, 17–18, 26–7, 36, 40–1.

CHAPTER THREE

EXPANSION AND REFORMULATION (A.D. 69–96)

The Flavian era is of fundamental importance to the evolution of provincial ruler cult, in several ways the most significant period since its origins under Augustus.[1] Three facets of this development call for detailed analysis. In the first place it seems clear that under Vespasian rather than Domitian an official worship was now inaugurated in the older, well Romanized provinces of Narbonensis, Proconsularis and Baetica; though the epigraphical evidence is fragmentary or of uncertain expansion, the cult in all three "senatorial" provinces appears to have included the living emperor with the deified dead *ab initio*. Elsewhere there is nothing specific to indicate a date of foundation but similar regulations to those in force in Narbonensis, Proconsularis and Baetica were plainly operative in Sardinia, while the terminology or content of the provincial worship in the Mauretanian and Alpine provinces point similarly to a Flavian institution. Secondly, there seems reason to conclude that in Hispania Citerior and Lusitania, very probably also in Tres Galliae as it was now called,[2] the existing cult was modified by the introduction of comparable regulations to those laid down in the Flavian *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*. More fundamentally, in Hither Spain and Lusitania the living emperor was for the first time included in the worship alongside deified rulers (with Roma in Hither Spain), a development apparently delayed in Tres Galliae until the reign of Hadrian. Lastly, the general trend towards standardization finds a clear exception at Arae Flaviae, where what looks very much like a regional cult typical of the Augustan period was installed in the Agri Decumates of southern Germany. A cult directed to the living emperor, conceivably in combination with his two sons, looks the likeliest development both here and in north-west Spain, where the cult of Roma and Augustus at the level of the *conventus*, created under Vespasian in an administrative reorganization of the region, appears to be likewise Flavian in origin.[3] Whether one should place a similar interpretation on two regional cults at Scardona and Doclea in Dalmatia is less secure.

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[1] Le Roux (1994) 405, limits developments under the Flavians to a restructuration imposed by circumstances. This excludes the evidence for new foundations in Narbonensis, Baetica and Proconsularis (which is ignored).

[2] Le Roux (1994) 402, evidently believes that only a temple to a deceased emperor, not an altar to Roma and Augustus, can be the focus of a provincial cult. While it seems appropriate to classify the enclave by Lugdunum as in origin the centre of a supra-regional cult extending over the vast area of Gallia Comata, the records of federal priests confirm that from the Flavian period onwards the sanctuary served Tres Galliae, the combined provinces of Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica.

The context of this widespread extension or reformulation of an official worship was the ascension to power of an upstart dynasty of uncertain legitimacy and authority. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find a fresh emphasis in provincial cult on the reigning emperor, with or without Roma, or the inclusion or consolidation of the *divi* wherever expedient.[4] In Rome the main features of Vespasian's return to Augustan practice have already been sketched in broad outline,[5] but it is worth re-emphasizing the particular concern of the new rulers to project the image of the *gens Flavia*. Hence Domitian's conversion of the house on the Quirinal where he was born into a temple of the Flavian *gens*[6] and the emphasis on Fortuna Augusta in his coinage,[7] also Domitian's completion of the temple of Divus Vespasianus, within which he associated Divus Titus, and the creation after Vespasian's death of the Sodales Flaviales, who later became the Sodales Flaviales Titiales after that of Titus.[8]

The other side to Flavian policy is Vespasian's known interest in reforming and streamlining the imperial structure. In Spain, in particular, this is reflected in his widespread extension of Latin rights across the peninsula.[9] Probably introduced at the beginning of Vespasian's reign rather than during his censorship of A.D. 73/4, the grant conferred Roman citizenship on ex-magistrates (*ius Latii minus*) and council members (*ius Latii maius*), together with their families, in communities of which the inhabitants apparently became *cives Latini*, and was subsequently modified under Vespasian and his sons as its provisions gradually proved unworkable. The measure was eventually replaced by the Domitianic municipal law, versions of which survive on bronze tablets from centres that achieved municipal status.[10]

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[3] The cult of the *conventus* in north-west Spain, though plainly relevant to the general trend of Vespasian's reforms, lies strictly speaking outside the scope of the present analysis. See in detail Étienne (1958) 177–89, 453 with list of *sacerdotes*; Vol. I, 2, p. 298 with n. 29 and refs.; Tranoy (1981) 329–31. For the problematic inclusion of Urbs Roma in the sacerdotal title of L.(?) Pompeius Faventinus see Vol. I, 2, pp. 353–60, arguing that the term refers to the priesthood of Urbs Roma Aeterna rather than a conventual office.

[4] On the importance of the ruler cult for Vespasian and his sons see the summaries of Schmidt (1988) 87–8.; Hillard (1996) 196–7.

[5] Vol. I, 2, 295–300. Clauss (1999) 112–32 (to be used with caution).

[6] Suet., *Domit.* 1, 1; cf. 17, 2. For the difficulties in identifying the *templum gentis Flaviae* with either the fragmentary relief now housed at the Museo Nazionale Romana or the edifice shown on a rare *sestertius* of Domitian see Turcan (2000) 3–28.

[7] Turcan (2000) 17 with nn. 71–3 and refs.

[8] Levick (1999) 197–9. For the suggestion that Vespasian's reputed last words were an ironic verdict on his own promotion of the ruler cult—rather than sarcasm, derision, or embarrassment at the prospect of deification—see Vol. I, 2, 300. More recent

The patent fact that both the original extension of *ius Latii* and the superseding municipal law were the product of central planning reveals in turn the nature of the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*, the so-called Narbonese charter, and its various reflections in Proconsularis,

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commentary has argued different versions of his *exitus*. According to Schmidt (1988) 83–9, what Suetonius reports as a genuine statement of Vespasian was in reality a snide joke current among senatorial circles bent on ridiculing Flavian preoccupation with the ruler cult in general and the apotheosis of a peasant in particular. On this view *vae, puto, deus fio* (Suet., *Vesp.* 23, 4) is a hostile parody of the departing vulgarity put in Claudius' mouth by Seneca: *vae me, puto, concacavi me* (*Apoc.* 4, 3); cf. Levick (1999) 197, 269–70. In favour of Schmidt's interpretation is that Vespasian, like Claudius, died in the throes of acute diarrhoea. Similarly Hillard (1996) 209–15, who was unaware of Schmidt's theory before his own paper was in proof, sees a reference to Claudius' scatological exit in the *Apocolocyntosis*, but suggests that at the last moment the emperor himself, caught by a sudden worsening in his condition, substituted a more dignified punchline than *concacavi*. Clauss (1999) 116–17, 496, follows Hillard but thinks the words might also reflect an attempt to be rid of the fear of dying. Whatever the true import of Vespasian's reputed remark—a jest of some sort at apotheosis, an elevated example of the *exitus* genre, an echo of Seneca's lampoon of Claudius—none of these interpretations puts in doubt the fundamental importance of Vespasian's reign to the development of provincial ruler cults (cf. Vol. I, 2, 300).

[9] For a helpful overview see Levick (1999) 139–40 with nn. 43–5 and numerous refs.

[10] Variants of the so-called Flavian *lex municipalis* were issued *ca.* A.D. 90 or earlier as the administrative instrument of a wide variety of different communities—apparently across the whole peninsula, though the surviving traces all come from Baetica. We now possess substantial parts of the charters of Irni (the largest fragment), Malaca and Salpensa along with smaller remnants of the charters of Villonensis, Ostippo, modern Cortegana (the ancient name is unknown), and some uncertain town attested by a fragment probably found in Hispalis. As the numerous overlapping chapters of these were drafted in practically the same wording, it follows that a master document must have existed at Rome, copies of which were suitably "customized" by the addition of local details (toponym, constitution of the *curia*, administration of justice, rights and duties of individuals), then issued to individual towns. For fragments of such a master copy now in the archaeological museum at Seville see Fear (1996) 133, n. 7. See in detail d'Ors (1986) 13–14; Gonzalez (1986); Curchin (1990) 14–16 with refs.; see further *id.* (1996) 151; Fear (1996) 131–69 with bibl. n. 6, 271; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 356 with n. 124.

Baetica, Sardinia, Hispania citerior, Tres Galliae and Sardinia. Everything suggests that similar documents to this set of regulations, the sole example of which has survived in Narbonensis,[11] were issued centrally and distributed to a wide range of other provinces, where much the same provisions, no doubt adapted to local conditions, were closely followed in line with an overall plan designed by the imperial regime in Rome. It is surely impossible to argue that each province independently requested the institution or reform of its provincial cult after the example set by Hispania citerior in A.D 15 and Baetica in A.D. 25.[12] Rather one must infer authoritative direction from above and conclude that the Flavian regime itself, above all under Vespasian, was responsible for this critical phase in the development of provincial ruler worship in the Latin west.[13] The advent of a new dynasty marks in this respect an abrupt switch from spontaneous local initiatives, as observable in the Julio-Claudian period, to the planned direction that had guided the earliest Augustan foundations.

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[11] That only the Lex Narbonensis should have survived is hardly surprising. We have at the moment larger or smaller remnants of some seven charters copied from the Flavian municipal law yet, as Fear points out, on Pliny's figures 129 charters would have been needed in Baetica alone with at least 172 more copies in the rest of Spain: *id.* (1996) 148.

[12] Conformably with the notion of a passive emperor and pressure from below, Levick (1999) 75, suggests that in Baetica as in Narbonensis and Proconsularis the initiative more probably came from the provincials, rivalling each other for attention. With the relevant books of Tacitus' *Histories* missing, lack of any literary evidence to support this view can hardly be pressed, but it is stretching credulity to suppose that these three provincies (with Sardinia?) acted of their own accord, whereas in Tres Galliae, Hispania Citerior and Lusitania an existing cult was regulated by the central authority. Still less can one suppose that all seven provinces spontaneously and independently petitioned the foundation, reform or regulation of their provincial worship.

[13] Accepted by Rives (1995) 86. The account in Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 356, is self-contradictory. The authors agree that in the development of provincial cults the initiative came sometimes from the provincials themselves (as in Hither Spain), sometimes from the central Roman authorities. They then state that Narbonensis, Proconsularis and Baetica "established (or at least reformulated) cults on Roman lines" (which plainly suggests initiative from the provincials), but the fact that this occurs under Vespasian points to "strong pressure from the centre—perhaps to be connected with Vespasian's desire to promote a focus of loyalty to his new dynasty" (which can only mean initiative from the centre). As the following analysis makes clear, the idea that these three long-established provinces might have reformulated existing cults is excluded by the epigraphical record in Narbonensis and Proconsularis and altogether implausible in Baetica.

Gallia Narbonensis

The starting point for discussion is the partially preserved *lex de flamonio provinciae Galliae Narbonensis* (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964).[14] Inscribed on a damaged bronze tablet that originates from the provincial centre on the eastern extremity of Narbo Martius (Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLIII), the regulations of this so-called provincial charter have been sketched in outline earlier and will be analyzed in depth in the context of the provincial priesthood.[15] The critical point for immediate purposes is that the date of the enactment cannot be established directly since there is a lacuna where the tablet is broken away at a key part of the text (lines 13, 17). As no restoration imposes itself on purely epigraphical grounds, attention has centred on the career of Q. Trebellius Rufus,[16] whose *cursus* is recorded on the bases of three commemorative statues that were raised in his honour at Athens by the Boule of the Areopagus, the Boule of Six Hundred and the People of Athens (*IG* II^2, 4193a-b; Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLV). The statues themselves have long since disappeared but two pedestals found on the Acropolis are sufficiently well preserved for their inscriptions to be mutually complementary.

A third record, recovered more recently in the Agora (Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLVI), consists of some forty-eight inscribed and numerous uninscribed fragments of Hymettian marble, which can nevertheless be largely pieced together on the analogy of the texts from the Acropolis (lines 1–10).[17] Its wording is identical except that the last lines additionally honour two members of the family of Trebellius: a woman who is more probably his wife than his daughter, and his son, Trebellius Rufus Maximus. The most significant feature of the Agora base, however, is that below the dedication are appended two letters inscribed in much smaller characters. The one to the left (lines 11–28) is very incomplete but clearly transcribes a communication from the *concilium* of Gallia

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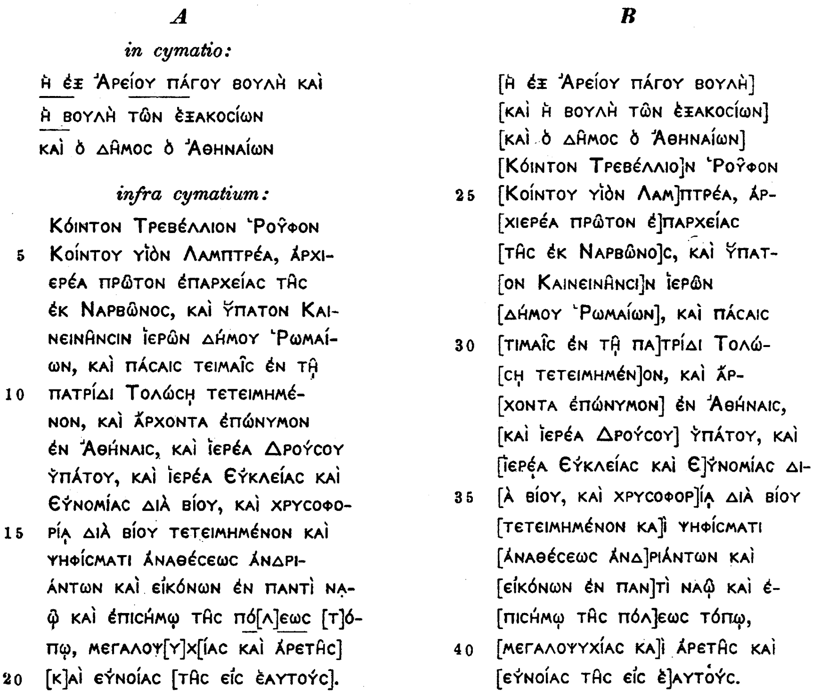
[14] For commentary see Williamson (1987) 173–89. The suggestion of Aymard (1942–45) 525–6, that the Lex Narbonensis may simply regulate an existing provincial cult is surely excluded by the content of the law, which has all the characteristics of a foundation document establishing the provincial worship of Gallia Narbonensis. Nowhere does it refer to an existing provincial flaminate nor are priests of Gallia Narbonensis otherwise known before the Flavian period: Pflaum (1978) 103–8; Gayraud (1981) 389–90, 397ff. For the irrelevance of *CIL* 12, 392 see below, n. 25

[15] Vol. III, 2, 3–15 with the surviving text.

[16] For earlier discussion see Fishwick, Knight (1998) 83–112.

[17] Oliver (1941) no. 32; *id.* (1942) 80; Robert (1944) no. 82 = *AE* (1947) 69.



A

in cymatio:

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ
ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοϲίων
καὶ ὁ δῆμοϲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων

infra cymatium:

Κόιντον Τρεβέλλιον Ῥοῦφον
5 Κοίντου υἱὸν Λαμπτρέα, ἀρχι-
ερέα πρῶτον ἐπαρχείαϲ τῆϲ
ἐκ Ναρβῶνοϲ, καὶ ὕπατον Και-
νεινῆνϲιν ἱερῶν δήμου Ῥωμαί-
ων, καὶ πάϲαιϲ τειμαῖϲ ἐν τῇ
10 πατρίδι Τολώϲῃ τετειμημέ-
νον, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐπώνυμον
ἐν Ἀθήναιϲ, καὶ ἱερέα Δρούϲου
ὑπάτου, καὶ ἱερέα Εὐκλείαϲ καὶ
Εὐνομίαϲ διὰ βίου, καὶ χρυϲοφο-
15 ρίᾳ διὰ βίου τετειμημένον καὶ
ψηφίϲματι ἀναθέϲεωϲ ἀνδρι-
άντων καὶ εἰκόνων ἐν παντὶ να̣-
ῷ καὶ ἐπιϲήμῳ τῆϲ πό[λ]εωϲ [τ]ό-
πῳ, μεγαλοψ[υ]χ[ίαϲ καὶ ἀρετῆϲ]
20 [κ]αὶ εὐνοίαϲ [τῆϲ εἰϲ ἑαυτούϲ].

B

[ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ]
[καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοϲίων]
[καὶ ὁ δῆμοϲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων]
[Κόιντον Τρεβέλλιο]ν Ῥοῦφον
25 [Κοίντου υἱὸν Λαμ]πτρέα, ἀρ-
[χιερέα πρῶτον ἐ]παρχείαϲ
[τῆϲ ἐκ Ναρβῶνο]ϲ, καὶ ὕπατ-
[ον Καινεινῆνϲι]ν ἱερῶν
[δήμου Ῥωμαίων], καὶ πάϲαιϲ
30 [τιμαῖϲ ἐν τῇ πα]τρίδι Τολώ-
[ϲῃ τετειμημένον]ον, καὶ ἄρ-
[χοντα ἐπώνυμον] ἐν Ἀθήναιϲ,
[καὶ ἱερέα Δρούϲου] ὑπάτου, καὶ
[ἱερέ̣α Εὐκλείαϲ καὶ Ε]ὐνομίαϲ δι-
35 [ὰ βίου, καὶ χρυϲοφορ]ίᾳ διὰ βίου
[τετειμημένον κα]ὶ ψηφίϲματι
[ἀναθέϲεωϲ ἀνδ]ριάντων καὶ
[εἰκόνων ἐν παν]τὶ ναῷ καὶ ἐ-
[πιϲήμῳ τῆϲ πόλ]εωϲ τόπῳ,
40 [μεγαλοψυχίαϲ κα]ὶ ἀρετῆϲ καὶ
[εὐνοίαϲ τῆϲ εἰϲ ἑ]αυτούϲ.

Fig. 1. *IG* 2^2, 4193. Facsimile reproduced from *IG* 2^2.

Narbonensis to the Boule of the Areopagus, the Boule of Six Hundred and the People of Athens, thanking the Athenians for the honours decreed to "our first high priest". To the right (lines 29–45) a letter from the magistrates and *curia* of Tolosa likewise thanks the Boule of the Areopagus, the Boule of the Six Hundred and the People of Athens, who by the honours decreed to "our Rufus" have increased the honour of his *patria* (lines 1–22).

i. *Flamen primus*

The opening lines of Trebellius' honorific inscription describe him as ἀρχιερέα πρῶτον ἐπαρχείας τῆς ἐκ Ναρβῶνος. As there existed no college of provincial priests in which Trebellius could have been first in rank, the only possible interpretation has always been that he was chronologically the first of all. A lengthy argument nevertheless developed as to whether he could have been first of the province in rank, first in an honorific sense; on this interpretation the Acropolis texts would be punctuated ἀρχιερέα, πρῶτον ἐπαρχείας τῆς ἐκ Ναρβῶνος.[18] The controversy has happily been settled by line 14 in the letter which the *concilium* of Narbonese Gaul sent to the Boule of the Areopagus, the Boule of Six Hundred and the People of Athens. As the *concilium* refers to Trebellius as ἀρ]χιερέα πρῶτο[ν ἡμ]έ̣τερο[ν, it is clear that ἀρχιερέα and πρῶτον must belong together as a coherent unit (=*flaminem primum*). Furthermore, since he was now residing at Athens and was no longer provincial *flamen*, the reference to him as "our first high priest" must refer to a previous office he had held as the earliest priest of Gallia Narbonensis.[19]

But was he the first of all provincial priests or simply the first from Tolosa, as proposed by H-G. Pflaum following J. Deininger and D. M. Pippidi?[20] Three arguments are taken to support this view, none of them sustainable. The first is the reference to "our first high priest" (line 14). Pflaum takes this to mean he was "le premier de ses concitoyens à revêtir ce sacerdoce", a supposition that plainly rests on a misreading of the text: the phrase "our first high priest" occurs in the letter of the Narbonese council, not that of the civic authorities at Tolosa.[21] Secondly Pflaum, now followed by Pailler, points to the statue base of L. Calpurnius Augustalis at Thubursicu Numidarum, reading [*sacerdoti*] *pr(ovinciae) Af*[*ricae pr*]*imo* (*ILAlg* 1, 1295): on the view of S. Gsell, followed by later commentators, Calpurnius Augustalis will have been the first from his *patria* to attain the provincial priesthood. The meaning here, however, could rather be that he was the first to whom his *patria* erected a statue, especially if the text is to be restored [*sacerdoti*] *pr. Af*[*r. cui pr*]*imo* ... .[22] Lastly, Pflaum objects that Tolosa was of too little importance to have provided one of its notables as the very first high priest of Narbonensis. The response to this is surely that elevation to the provincial priesthood depended upon the individual, not his *patria*,[23]

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[18] So apparently Clauss (1999) 403.

[19] Aymard (1942–45) 516–19; Deininger (1965) 30; Gayraud (1981) 398 with nn. 147–8; Vol. I, 2, 240–1.

[20] Pflaum (1978) 105.

[21] See Vol. I, 2, 241, n. 9, also Pailler (1989) 176–7. Similarly Le Roux (1994) 398–9 takes Trebellius Rufus to have been "le premier parmi ses compatriotes" to have held provincial office, not first of all, "même si le concile, pour s'exprimer, peut mêttre l'accent sur le rang ou la hiérarchie". This observation is inapposite: as there was only one provincial priest, the office involved neither rank nor hierarchy,

[22] For detailed discussion see below, pp. 117–18.

[23] Cf. Alföldy (1973) 22, noting that other factors than the rank of a priest's *patria* influenced a man's chances.

Above on moulding

[Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγο]υ βου[λ]ὴ ᵛ καὶ ἡ β[ουλὴ τῶν Χ]

Below moulding

[Κοῖντον Τρεβέλλ]ιον Ῥοῦφον Κοίντου υ[ἱ]ὸν [Λαμπτρέα ἀ̣ρχιερέα πρῶτον ἐπ]
[αρχείας τῆς ἐκ] Ναρβῶνος καὶ ὕπατον Καινεί̣ηνσ̣ιν [ἱερῶν δήμου Ῥωμαίων καὶ]
[πάσαις τιμαῖς ἐ]ν τ[ῇ πα]τρίδι Τολώσῃ τετειμημένον καὶ ἄ[ρχοντ]α ἐ[πώνυμον]
[ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ ἱ]ερέα Δ[ρ]ούσου ὑπάτου καὶ ἱερέα Εὐκ̣λείας κα[ὶ Εὐνο]μία̣[ς διὰ̣ βίου]
[καὶ χρυσ]ο̣φο̣[ρία̣ δ]ιὰ β[ίο]υ τετειμημ̣ένον καὶ ψηφίσματι ἀ̣[ναθέσε]ως ἀ[νδριάντων]
[καὶ εἰκό]νω[ν ἐν παντὶ ναῷ καὶ ἐπισήμῳ τῆ]ς [πόλεως τόπῳ, καὶ – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – –] Τρε[βελλίου Ῥο]ύφου [γυναῖκα ἱ]έρειαν [ἐν Τ]ολώσῃ θεᾶς [Ῥώμης – – –]
[– – – – – – Τρε]β̣έ̣λ̣λ̣[ι]ον Ῥοῦ[φ]ον Μάξιμ[ον] υἱὸν [τοῦ Τρ]εβελλίου Ῥ[ούφου, φιλίας τῆς]
vacat εἰς [τοὺς Ἀθηνα]ί̣[ους] *vacat*

To the left below the dedication

[Τὸ κοι]ν[ὸν Να]ρβωνητῶν ἐπαρχείας [τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πά]
[γου β]ου[λῇ καὶ τ]ῇ βουλῇ τῶν [ἑξ]ακοσίων [*vacat*]
χαίρειν
[. . .]ν[. . . . . . ἀρ]χιερέα πρῶτο[ν ἡμ]ε̣τερο[ν – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – –]ον εἶναι τῆς α̣[. . . . .]νμαι[– – –]ι̣λα[–]
[– – – – – – – – – –]ασ!̣ϒ̣[– – – – – – – – –]εσε[. .]η̣σασθ̣ε ηδ[–]
[– –]ντες [. .]ειν *vac.*
[– –]εν *vac.*
[– –] ναῷ *vac.*
[– –]ι̣ εσε[–]
[– –]ωσκα[–]
[– – – – – – – – – – – –]ι̣[– – – – – – – – – – – –]ονδι̣[–]

Fig. 2. Text of Agora inscription honouring Q. Trebellius Rufus. Reproduced from *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 74–5, no. 32.

[– – – – – – – – – – –]ν̣ενπα[– – – – – – – – – – –]δε[– –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – –]του[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – δι]δόναι̣ [– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – –]ονεισ[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – –]ψηφισ̣[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– –]

To the right below the dedication

[Οἱ] ἄ̣ρ̣χον[τες καὶ] ἡ̣ [β]ουλὴ Τολωσί[ων vv τῇ ἐξ Ἀ]ρείου Π[άγου βουλῇ κ]αὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῶν ἑ[ξακοσίων καὶ τῷ δή]
μῳ τῷ [Ἀθηνα]ίων vacat [χαίρειν] vacat vacat
Πλειστ[ὴν ὑμεῖν χ]άριν ο̣[ἴ]δαμεν α̣[. . .]ασικ[. . . . .ca. 12. . . . . Τ]ρεβελλίου Ῥο[ύφου . . . .ca. 11. . . . .]
τὰς γ[ινομένας τ]ιμὰ[ς] εἰς δι[άκοσμ]ον τῆς ἡμ[ετέρα]ς δόξης ἐ[γγ]εινώσκομε[ν . . . . . .ca. 14. . . . . .]
αὐτο[. . . . .ca. 13. . . . .]νκ̣![. . .]αβ[. .]ι οἵους ἀνασ[τέφ]οντες ἐπα̣[νίε]σαν καὶ χρυσ[οφορία . . . .ca. 10. . . .]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]θ̣ασεν· [ε]ἰς κοινὴν τοίνυν εὐκλείαν ὁ ἡμ[έ]τερος Ῥοῦφος [– – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]δε καὶ Ῥ[ού]φῳ ὅτι εἰς ἅμιλλαν πόλεων φιλεῖτα[ι]· εἰς γὰρ ταύτας τ[ὰς – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – διεκ]όσμησεν, οὐ παρ' ἡμεῖν δὲ μόνον ἐπιφανὴς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὅλα̣[ις – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ινωμένης σεμνότητος ἴσος ὑπηρέτης [κα]ὶ τῶν Σεβα[στ – – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – –]ι̣ι̣[– δι]ηνεκῆ ἱεροσύνην τειμᾶται τὸ λοιπὸν α̣[ὐ]τ̣ῷ τῆς εὐδοξ[ίας – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ροτη[– – – – – – κ]εράσαντες ἔσχη̣[νται] καὶ συνκλητ[– – – – – – – – – – – –]
[. . . .] Ῥωμαίω[ν – –]σθα[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – ἐ]π̣ε̣[θ]ύμησεν ἡσυχίαν̣ ι̣[– – – – – – – – – – – –]
[. . . . .]υς ἡμῶ[ν – – –]σα[.]ου[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –] ἐπορίσατο v ἀσπ̣[– – – – – – – – – – – –]
[. . . . . .] ̣μα ^[. . . .]νταστερο̣υ̣[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]κης εἰς τὴν κοι[νὴν – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – –]ς δεχομ[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –] κα̣[ὶ] Ἀθηναιο[– – – – – – – – – – – –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ελεξαν[– –]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ου[.]π/[– –]

and that the previous post of *summus Caeninensis*, to which he was appointed by favour of the emperor himself,[24] could well have played a role in the choice of Trebellius Rufus as the first high priest of Gallia Narbonensis. The phrase ἀϱχιεϱεύς πϱῶτος must consequently have the unequivocal meaning of first person ever to hold the provincial priesthood of Gallia Narbonensis.

A minor complication arises from the circumstance that ἡμ]έ̣τεϱο[ν is partly restored. P. Le Roux proposes that one could perfectly well read ὑμ]έτεϱο[ν,[25] a restoration that would clearly change the sense of the passage—in fact remove its historical significance altogether. But this hypothesis is patently impossible. Given that the reference must be to Trebellius Rufus and that the context is the letter sent by the Narbonese council to the two Athenian councils, ὑμ]έτεϱο[ν would mean that Trebellius Rufus is ἀϱχιεϱεὺς πϱῶτος at Athens. Nowhere in the *cursus*, however, is he recorded to have held office at Athens as ἀϱχιεϱέυς. The distinction of the χϱυσοφοϱία was in all probability a lifetime privilege to wear special robes on ceremonial occasions, he was ἱεϱεύς of Eucleia and Eunomia for life, and ἱεϱεύς of the Elder Drusus probably in conjunction with the eponymous archonship. But at no stage was he ἀϱχιεϱέυς. The only use of the term outside the letter from the Narbonese council (line 14) is in the opening lines of the honorific inscription on the pedestals of his three statues, where it refers unmistakably to the high priesthood of Narbonensis. As a result, it is obligatory to restore ἡμ]έτεϱο[ν at line 14, especially when the adjoining letter from Tolosa uses the phrase ὁ ἡμ[έ]τεϱος Ῥοῦφος (line 34).

ii. Date of Institution

Next, the date of Trebellius' tenure as ἀϱχιεϱεὺς πϱῶτος ἐπαϱχείας τῆς ἐκ Ναϱβῶνος (=*flamen primus provinciae Narbonensis*). On the basis of other inscriptions from Athens and Delphi P. Graindor has established that the eponymous archonship at Athens must have been served between 85/86 and 94/95[26] A.D. Aymard points out that he can hardly have been older than 80 at this stage nor can he have been provincial *flamen* before the age of 30 as he had enjoyed a full municipal career at Tolosa.[27] It follows that his provincial priesthood can be dated no earlier that *ca.* 35 A.D. In practice Aymard takes Trebellius Rufus to have been much younger than 80 since the Agora inscription mentions his son, Trebellius Rufus Maximus, who is not stated to have held any civic or religious office—inferentially because of his youth. But this looks a fragile hypothesis: the potential career of the son could simply have been omitted, alternatively Trebellius Rufus might have become a father relatively late in life, not necessarily in his youth. A more persuasive point, if equally imprecise, is that the interval between the provincial flaminate in Narbonensis and the Athenian archonship can be reduced to, say, 10–15 years on the grounds that his honours in Gaul look to be of comparatively recent memory as recalled in the letter from the Narbonese council. By far the most compelling argument, however, turns on two references to the emperor in the Lex Narbonensis (Vol I, 2, Pl. XLIII). At lines 26–7 this reads: ... *statu*] | *as imaginesve imperatoris Caeṣ*[*aris* ... ; cf. line 13: ..., *nisi cui imperator* [*Caesar*... . The formula *imperator Caesar* would fit Augustus, which is patently too early, but after that is inappropriate to any emperor before the Flavian era.[28] Even here Titus must be excluded as his titulature runs *Imp. Titus Caesar Vespasianus Aug.* or *Imp. Titus Vespasianus Caesar Aug.*[29] It would appear, then, that the Lex Narbonensis was issued, apparently as a *lex data* (technically a *constitutio)*,[30] under Vespasian or Domitian and that Trebellius Rufus became *flamen primus* of Narbonese Gaul under one of these two emperors.

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[24] For discussion of this and other offices of the *cursus* see Vol. III, 2, 175, 179–81.

[25] Le Roux (1994) 408, n. 19. His completion is approved by Clauss (1999) 403 with n. 78. For the irrelevance in this regard of *CIL* 12, 392, cited by Le Roux, *o.c.* 399, cf. Clauss, *ibid.* with n. 79, see Vol. I, 2, 243–9, noting that Mercator (?) will have been *curator*] *templi* rather than *flamen*] *templi*, a formula unparalleled in the titulature of provincial priests. See further Vol. III, 2, 163–72, arguing the same conclusion, following the retrieval of the original fragmentary inscription. With the exclusion of this text there is no trace of a pre-Flavian priest of Gallia Narbonensis. The altar to the Numen Augusti at Narbo (A.D. 11) was municipal and neither simultaneously (an impossibility) nor alternatively provincial, as proposed by Le Roux (1994) 409, n. 25.

As for which of the two was the founder of the provincial cult of Narbonese Gaul, discussion has settled almost unanimously on Vespasian. The reason for this is that regulations parallel to those of the Lex Narbonensis appear to have been followed to a greater or lesser extent in other provinces, notably Proconsularis, Hispania Citerior, Lusitania, and quite possibly Sardinia.[31] Evidence from outside Narbonensis calls for analysis in its own right but as a first step it may be observed that on the above analysis the inscriptions of Trebellius Rufus themselves preserve internal testimony that points directly to the hand of Vespasian. The key phrase occurs at line 37 in the letter of the authorities of Tolosa, where Trebellius Rufus is recorded to have served as ἴσος ὑπηϱέτης [ϰα]ὶ τῶν Σεβα[στῶν (= *aequus minister*(?)*que Augustorum*)—subsequently to his provincial flaminate (above, p. 108). As Trebellius was archon at Athens under Domitian, the reference must be to successive, not joint emperors.[32] Theoretically, then, he might have served under Domitian and in the latter part of Titus' reign, say 80/81 A.D., the provincial flaminate having fallen earlier under Titus, but in practice the formula *imperator Caesar* at lines 13, 27 of the Narbonese charter excludes this possibility (above). It follows that both the Lex Narbonensis and Trebellius' term as first *flamen* must be assigned to the reign of Vespasian, in which case the later equestrian career will have unfolded under Vespasian and Titus, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, or Titus and Domitian.

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[26] Graindor (1922) 9, 93–5; Oliver (1942) 83 with table of Athenian archons. Kapetanopoulos (1992–98) 233–7, dates the tenure of Trebellius Rufus to A.D. 92/3.

[27] *Idem* (1942–45) 516–17, 523, 525. On the age of provincial priests see Alföldy (1973) 44–5, arguing that, while the minimum age of provincial priests must be at least twenty-five, most will have been considerably older than thirty.

[28] Aymard (1942–45) 526 with nn. 19–20; Hammond (1957) 26–7; Vol. I, 2, 240.

[29] Cf. Gayraud (1981) 398, n. 152, citing Cagnat (1914) 190.

[30] Williamson (1987) 175.

Precisely when in his reign Vespasian founded the provincial cult of Narbonese Gaul is not apparent from internal evidence, but if one turns to other provinces a clearer picture emerges, one that points to the earlier rather than the later years of the period. It is important to stress that in each case we have independent evidence which provides additional confirmation of the responsibility of Vespasian already deducible from internal evidence within the inscriptions of Trebellius Rufus. What emerges is that the early years of the Flavian era saw not just the foundation of the provincial cult of Gallia Narbonensis but also the introduction of similar regulations into a wide range of other provinces in the Latin west.

Among the clauses of the Lex Narbonensis it is specified (lines 11–13; below, pp. 124–5) that the provincial priest for the following year is to introduce a motion as to whether the past incumbent should be honoured with a statue on the close of his term. If the vote is favourable and the priest is in good standing, he shall be permitted to set up a statue to himself, its pedestal inscribed with his name, that of his father, his origin and the year of his tenure. Exactly these instructions seem to be followed in three honorific dedications to provincial priests of Baetica who were honoured with a statue at the provincial centre of Corduba,[33] while much the same regulations are likewise reflected in a local dedication at Mellaria.[34] The earliest of these epigraphical records dates from A.D. 100 or later, too late therefore for present purposes, though it confirms that regulations parallel to those of the Lex Narbonensis were operative in Baetica by the reign of Trajan. If, however, we turn next to Africa Proconsularis, three local dedications at Simitthus, Bulla Regia and Furnos Maius seem to follow the same provisions except that the tenure of the provincial priest is in each case dated by the year of an era evidently patterned on that by which the priests of the Cereres date their incumbency.[35] What is striking here is that this era begins in A.D. 70–2, a date which plainly points to the introduction early under Vespasian of regulations like those of the Lex Narbonensis.

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[31] Pailler (1989) 172–6, rejects, discounts or overlooks this evidence in accusing previous commentators of *petitio principis*—circular argumentation by justifying a Vespasianic date in each province in turn by reference to the other provinces; cf. *id.* (1988) 106, n. 21.

[32] On the use of the formula *Augustorum* / Σεβαστῶν to denote successive or collective emperors see the helpful series of articles by Meyer (1943) 60–9; *id.* (1959); (1960); (1970); (1975).

Equally remarkable is that at Tarraco, the provincial centre of Hispania Citerior and the source of by far the largest number of inscribed statue bases to provincial priests (seventy-six with another eleven to provincial priestesses), the custom of celebrating the retiring *flamen* by erecting a statue in his honour begins all of a sudden at approximately the same time, *ca.* A.D. 70.[36] Here the inscriptions on the bases, while following a broadly similar usage, differ in frequently including the *cursus* but omitting the year of office, yet the practice itself dates evidently from the opening years of Vespasian's reign and continues without break down to the Severan period. It may be suggested that parallel regulations regarding the epigraph were not followed in exact detail at Tarraco because the origin of the provincial cult of Hispania Citerior dates back to the reign of Tiberius, when permission was granted by the senate to build a provincial temple at Tarraco (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 78: A.D. 15); in which case the local *concilium* could presumably have adapted details at its own discretion. Again, at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls a dedication to Mars Segomo identifies the tenure of the federal priest Q. Adginnius Martinus by consulships, while preserving an honorific formula similar to that employed at Corduba.[37] The name of a missing consul has to be supplied but it is clear from the preserved name of his co-consul, M. Neratius Pansa, that the text is to be dated *ca.* A.D. 74.[38] A second inscription is largely lost but looks to have likewise dated a priesthood by the consuls of A.D. 75.[39] Later dedications do not follow the exact prescription of the Lex Narbonensis, nor do we have inscribed bases to provincial priests before the Antonine period, but everything suggests that the existing federal cult was temporarily modified in the Flavian period by regulations similar to those in Narbonensis. Neither at Lugdunum nor at Tarraco were these followed to the letter, however.

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[33] Vol. I, 2, 219–20, citing *AE* (1971) 183 = *CIL* $2^2/7$, 291: A.D. 152; *AE* (1966) 181 = *CIL* $2^2/7$, 293: A.D. 191; *CIL* 2, 2221 = *CIL* $2^2/7$, 295: A.D. 216; Williamson (1987) 185. See further below, pp. 119–26.

[34] Vol. I, 2, 220, citing *CIL* 2, 2344 = *CIL* $2^2/7$, 799: A.D. 99. For detailed discussion see Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 283–92.

[35] *CIL* 8, 14611; *ILAfr* 458 + *AE* (1964) no. 177; *CIL* 8, 12039 = *ILS* 6812. For discussion see Vol. I, 2, p. 262, cf. 220–1; Fishwick, Calpurnius (1998) 74–5; further below, p. 130.

[36] Alföldy (1973) 10–14; Vol. I, 2, 276–7, proposing a foundation of the provincial cult under Tiberius. See further below, pp. 158–9.

Very much the same development, the modification of an existing provincial cult by the introduction under Vespasian of regulations similar to those applicable to Narbonese Gaul, is also attested in Lusitania. In an inscription at Emerita, the seat of the provincial cult, the province is recorded to have dedicated what looks to be a gold *protome* of 5 lbs. weight to Titus; both the provincial *flamen* and the *legatus Augusti*(?) are included with the *concilium* in the dedication.[40] This looks to follow exactly a clause of the Narbonese law giving the provincial governor some degree of control over the expenditure of surplus funds on statues and images of the emperor (lines 26–8; below, p. 167). The date of the Emerita text is A.D. 77/78, so squarely under Vespasian.

Lastly, in Sardinia the "adlection" of past provincial priests to the *ordo Karalitanorum*, the *curia* of the chief town of the province and centre of the provincial cult, appears to be an oblique reflection of the working of regulations like those of the Lex Narbonensis (lines 13–15, cf. 4; below, pp. 138–9).[41] By admission to the local senate of Carales, in each instance with the consent of the provincial council, a *sacerdotalis provin-*

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[37] *CIL* 13, 1675. See Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 251; further below, pp. 150–4.

[38] Degrassi (1952) 22–3; *PIR* 5, pp. 345–8, no. 56 (Neratius).

[39] *CIL* 13, 1713. Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 252–3.

[40] See Fishwick (1981) 86–96 *ad CIL* 2, 5264 (= *ILS* 261); Vol. I, 2, 278–9; further, below pp. 167–9; Williamson (1987) 189. For the origins of the provincial cult of Lusitania under Tiberius see Vol. I, 1, 157–8; above, pp. 53–60.

[41] For detailed discussion see Fishwick, *Sacerdotalis* (1997) 449–59 *ad CIL* 10, 7917 (Pl. 16); *id.*, Bosa (1999) 221–8 *ad CIL* 10, 7940 (Pl. 17); further below, pp. 135–44.

ciae Sardiniae will in that case have placed on a permanent basis the temporary status he had enjoyed during his term of one year when he was *ex officio* a member of the *ordo Karalitanorum*; presumably "adlection" took place at the end of his term rather than during tenure, though the inscriptions throw no light on the point. The epigraphical testimony in question is considerably later than the Flavian period, so does not bear directly on the institution of the provincial cult of Narbonese Gaul. Even so, comparison with so many other provinces, where unequivocal, independent evidence points to the hand of Vespasian, gives every reason to suppose that in Sardinia too the introduction of what were evidently standard regulations dates from the reign of Vespasian.[42] A similar situation, it may be added, could also lie behind a rider to a decree of the provincial council of Hither Spain (*ca.* A.D. 70–100/120) in which the *ordo* of Tarraco has voted honours to a past provincial *flamen* (*RIT* 316).[43] To all appearances these *honores* involved "adlection" to the town council, in which case the appendix attests the operation at Tarraco of a similar provision to that reflected in the two texts at Cornus and Bosa.

It follows that the honorific inscriptions of Q. Trebellius Rufus, all of which originate at Athens, are of twofold historical interest. Not only do his statue bases attest the first provincial priest of Gallia Narbonensis but in the context of the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*, reinforced by independent epigraphical evidence from a broad range of other provinces in the West, they prove beyond reasonable doubt that the provincial cult of Gallia Narbonensis originated under Vespasian. In light of this collective testimony it seems fair to conclude that there is an overwhelming case for assigning the first flaminate of the province to the early years of the Flavian era.

iii. The Provincial Cult

Scattered though it is, evidence for the content of the new cult still adds up to a coherent picture.[44] The first point to be stressed is that the title for the provincial priest is *flamen*,[45] a term which we have seen to be appropriate to the cult of the deified emperor, notably in Lusitania; the term *sacerdos* in contrast is the regular title when cult was addressed to the living emperor, combined in Tres Galliae at least with Roma.[46] In the same way the single *flaminica* who is attested in Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 2516) will have tended the cult of deified females, as confirmed by comparative evidence in Baetica (*AE*, 1966, no. 183: Mulva). It follows that the formula *flamen Augus*[in the provincial charter (line 21) must indicate a cult that *included* deified emperors. The conclusion is confirmed by reference to a provincial temple in line 13; cf. line 11, where the word is restored.[47] As we have seen, the provincial cult of the deified emperor centred on a temple in Hispania Citerior and Lusitania, whereas in Tres Galliae the worship of the living emperor with Roma was based initially on an altar. Yet a provincial cult of Narbonensis founded early under the Flavian dyasty must certainly have included the living emperor Vespasian if it was to serve the purposes of the new regime. Evidence for this dimension of the worship looks to be provided by a clause in the charter stating that the retiring *flamen* may use any surplus from funds earmarked for ritual puposes to set up *statu*] | *as imaginesve imperatoris Caeṣ*[*aris*... (lines 26–7). In all probability these are statues or busts of the living emperor, so point to his inclusion in the cult especially if they are to be placed in the temple, as could be prescribed in line 28;[48] whether the likenesses were intended to be carried in procession is impossible to tell.[49] In support of this inference a Severan inscription at Narbo Martius gives the priestly title as *flamen Augg.* (*provinciae Narbonensis*)(*CIL* 12, 4323). As the text records that he performed a *taurobolium* on behalf of the province for the *salus* of the living emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, the double *g* presumably stresses their place in the cult, though such emphasis on the living by no means excludes the deified deceased.[50]

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[42] *Mutatis mutandis* the Lex Narbonensis might be compared to the Feriale Duranum. Only one copy of this has been found (at Dura in Syria), yet its prescriptions look to have been widely followed elsewhere in the empire; cf. Vol. II, 1, 593–608.

[43] For discussion see Fishwick, Decree (1999); further below, pp. 159–63.

[44] Vol. I, 2, 242–3.

[45] For a list of provincial priests see Vol. III, 2, 183–5.

The conclusion to which the argument points, then, is that the provincial cult of Narbonensis will have addressed both present and past rulers—precisely as in Hispania Citerior, where such a cult is documented from the early part of Vespasian's reign (below, pp. 164–6). In this province, it should be noted, Roma was included whereas no trace of the goddess has so far emerged in Narbonensis or for that matter in Proconsularis, Baetica or any other province where the origins of a provincial cult may go back to Vespasian's reign. In any event the combination of the various factors outlined above suggests that the formula in line 21 of the provincial charter should be completed *flamen Augus*[*talis*/ *torum*, either of which would indicate a composite cult as similarly documented in other provinces.

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[46] See Vol. I, 1, 165–7; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 357.

[47] The statement in Chastagnol (1995) 602, that Vespasian instituted a federal altar at Narbo is incorrect. The Narbo altar was municipal, as stated by Chastagnol, *o.c.* 595, but erected on the initiative of the local community, not of the emperor. See Vol. II, 1, 379.

[48] The restoration is uncertain. Williamson (1987) 179, reads ... *intra idem ṭ*[*empus* rather than *ṭ*[*emplum*, as proposed by Gayraud (1981) 409, for example.

[49] On processions see Vol. II, 1, 550–66.

[50] For the reference of *Augg.* to the totality of emperors see Fishwick, *Numinibus* (1994) 129 with nn. 12, 54.

Baetica

An early attempt on the part of the province itself to found a provincial cult proved abortive. When in A.D. 25 an embassy from Baetica asked leave to erect a temple to Tiberius and Livia on the model of the temple to Tiberius, Livia and the personified senate that had been allowed at Smyrna two years earlier (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 15, 55–6: above, p. 49), permission was refused: *per idem tempus Hispania ulterior missis ad senatum legatis oravit ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matrique eius extrueret* (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37, 1; cf. 15, 4).[51] What was allowable in the east with its long-established tradition of ruler cult was not necessarily acceptable in the west.[52] The request of Baetica is one of only two known initiatives from below in the area of western provincial emperor worship and with its refusal there is no further evidence to suggest that an official cult was established in the province before the end of the Julio-Claudian period.

P. Le Roux has indeed proposed that the embassy of A.D. 25 could imply honours were already paid to Divus Augustus in Baetica on the occasion of provincial reunions and that the episode shows a willingness on the part of the provincial council to develop the imperial religion.[53]

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[51] Vol, I, 1, 158–9; Friesen (1993) 16–21. For the interesting suggestion that the proposal of Baetica was made out of gratitude to Tiberius for the condemnation of Numerius Vibius Serenus, who had been responsible for abuses while governing the province in A.D. 20–21, see Eck (2001) 568–70, noting the similar background to the request of Asia in A.D. 23. I am indebted for this and other references on Baetica to J. A. Garriguet Mata. See further *RE*, Zweite Reihe 8 (1958) 1983–4, no. 54 (Ensslin).

[52] For the ideological background see Fishwick, Maecenas (1990) 270–5.

[53] Le Roux (1994) 399; cf. Clauss (1999) 401, 487. While acknowledging that most commentators date the institution of the provincial cult of Baetica under Vespasian, Castillo (1998) 438, citing Le Roux (1994) throughout, would not exclude the possibility that a provincial cult existed everywhere in the Latin west from the time of Tiberius. The fact that there is no epigraphical evidence in Baetica from the Julio-Claudian

This surely is impossible. For one thing the legation looks very much like an isolated action of Baetica as on an earlier occasion under Augustus (*ILS* 103; above, p. 46); nothing here requires the existence of a *concilium*. More fundamentally, the request can hardly have been an attempt to widen an existing worship of Divus Augustus since such a cult would have required earlier construction of a temple precisely as in Hispania Citerior and Lusitania; except apparently as an exceptional, temporary measure, the cult of a *divus* is not associated with an altar.[54] To add a second provincial temple to one (hypothetically) already built or under completion (but nowhere attested in the sources) would be unparalleled and prohibitively expensive. As it turned out, not only was Baetica refused a temple to the emperor and his mother but in a speech before the senate Tiberius seized the opportunity to express his own aversion to divine honours, stressing in particular that the emperor was human, not divine (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 38, 1). Yet when the first epigraphical traces begin under Domitian and Trajan (below), it is clear that the provincial cult included the living emperor with the deified dead. In combination these factors rule out any possibility of tracing the origins of the provincial cult to Tiberius' reign and place its origins later, to all appearances under Vespasian.

At the opposite end of the scale the earliest datable priesthood of Baetica is that of C. Sempronius Speratus, whose term as *flamen Divorum Augg(ustorum)* evidently coincided with the successful prosecution of the *proconsul* Caecilius Classicus undertaken by the province in A.D. 99.[55] Plainly he was not the earliest priest of Baetica—otherwise the inscribed base of his honorific equestrian statue would certainly have

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period would on this view be explained by the circumstance that the custom of erecting statues to provincial priests did not begin until the early Flavian period—precisely as in Hispania citerior. This analogy is surely invalid. In Hither Spain we have not only the testimony of Tacitus that an embassy sent by the provincials in A.D. 15 was given permission to build a temple (certainly provincial) to Divus Augustus at Tarraco, the provincial capital (*Ann.* 1, 78), but also local coins, issued under Tiberius, that portray the projected temple as a replica of the temple of Mars Augustus at Rome. In Baetica there is nothing comparable to suggest the existence of a Julio-Claudian provincial cult before inscriptions begin under the Flavians. Castillo further undermines his otherwise helpful study of the priesthood of Baetica by accepting the extraordinary notion of Clauss (1996) 400–33 that, like other emperors, Tiberius, Claudius and Nero were venerated as *divus* already in their lifetimes; see further Clauss (1999) *passim*.

[54] The sole example in the Latin west seems to be at Lugdunum: *sacerdos ad aram Romae et Augustor(um)* (*CIL* 13, 1718). Presumably the altar temporarily accommodated the cult of the *divi* while the temple of Tres Galliae was not yet in cultic service.

[55] Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 291–2; Vol. III, 2, 239–40.

recorded the fact (*CIL* $2^{2}/7$, 799). But the text provides a firm *terminus ante* for the foundation of the provincial cult, which must consequently pre-date the accession of Trajan.

Earlier testimony under Domitian is provided by a defective inscription at Castulo, known today only from a manuscript copy of what looks to be a further honorific text originally inscribed on a statue base.[56] This records that some unknown individual held the provincial priesthood of Baetica as *flamen Augustalis*, an unusual title for which there is no parallel in Baetica though the formula occurs at an early stage in Lusitania (*CIL* 2, 41*) and *ca.* A.D. 110/140 in Hispania Citerior (*RIT* 287):

> — *praef(ecto)?] fisci et curatori Divi Tiṭị in Bae|tica, prae(fecto) Gall(a)eciae, pr(a)ef(ecto) fisci | Germaniae Caesarum imp(eratorum) tribu|no leg(ionis) VIII, flamini Augustali | in Baetica primo* [—].
>
> (*CIL* 2, 3271; Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLVI)

The main features of the text are by now clear. As Pflaum demonstrated, the *cursus* is given in direct order rather than indirect as originally believed. On this reading our *ignotus* served (in the surviving record) first as *praefectus*(?) *fisci* and simultaneously (*et*) *curator* of Titus in Baetica, a post that presumably means he oversaw properties belonging to Titus, who was deceased at the time the inscription was drafted. He then served successively as prefect of Gallaecia in north-east Spain and *prefectus fisci* of Germany, so before its division into Upper and Lower Germany *ca.* A.D. 83. The term *Caesarum imp(eratorum)* evidently refers to the joint rulers Vespasian and Titus,[57] who will have likewise held private properties in Germany in the period before it separated into two provinces. The latest possible date for this post is therefore A.D. 79, following which he was appointed tribune of the Eighth Legion, garrisoned at Argentorate after A.D. 71. It follows from the succession of posts that the provincial priesthood will have been served under Domitian *ca.* A.D. 81–6.

The key question for immediate purposes is what interpretation should now be placed on *flamini Augustali in Baetica primo.* As provincial cults were founded in Narbonensis and Proconsularis under Vespasian, it seems reasonable to suppose that a parallel institution was installed in Baetica, the third great "senatorial" province in the West, at about the same time.[58] If that is the case, however, *primo* cannot mean that the unknown honoree at Castulo was the first priest of Baetica; rather the term must be taken with some succeeding word or phrase. An interpretation in this sense was first proposed by H.-G. Pflaum, who originally inclined to a date of institution under Domitian but then adopted J. Deininger's suggestion that *primo* was originally followed by *e municipio suo* or some such.[59] Later discussion has broadly followed this lead while suggesting other completions that look to have a greater degree of probability. In a recent paper, however, J.-M. Pailler rejects this line of argument altogether in arguing there is no reason to doubt that *primo* goes with *flamini Augustali in Baetica* rather than some succeeding word or phrase:[60] the fragmentary inscription at Castulo consequently records the first *flamen* of a provincial cult of Baetica instituted under Domitian.[61] The basis of this view must now be examined in detail.

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[56] For analysis see Vol. I, 2, 221–39; Castillo (1975) 610 with n. 33; *id.* (1998) 455–6.

[57] Vol. I, 2, 230–7.

ii. *flamini Augustali in Baetica primo* [...

The opening argument of Pailler's case turns on a patent misconception. "En effet, ce type d'inscription, on le sait par la *lex* de Narbonne et par plusieurs examples de Tarraconaise, valait *satisfecit* accordé par la province au flamine *à sa sortie de charge*". This was the interpretation rightly placed by Pflaum on texts from the bases of honorific statues set up by the provincial council (notably at Tarraco) on completion of a priest's term, and necessarily implies that no further posts will have been recorded beyond the provincial flaminate.[62] To apply the point to the Castulo text, however, is invalid as there is nothing to show that this record originated from a similar statue set up by the council of Baetica. All surviving examples of this type of honour come from the provincial centre at Corduba (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 291, 293, 295; below, pp. 119–20) and in no instance was such a monument erected by the *concilium* elsewhere, as sometimes the case in Tres Galliae (*CIL* 13, 1049, 1463, 3162). In point of fact the Castulo text orginates from a centre in Hispania Citerior, outside the border with Baetica, and was to all appearances set up locally, whether privately or by the *ordo* of the honoree's *patria*(?). In that event it may very well have listed some office held later than the priesthood of Baetica.[63]

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[58] According to current doctrine, the provinces were not divided between the emperor and the senate in any real sense of administrative practice or political responsibility. The distinction was solely in the method and terms of appointment of their governors: *legati Augusti pro praetore* in "imperial" provinces, *proconsules* in "senatorial"; cf. Fishwick, Provinces (1994) 116 with nn. 1–2 and refs. Even so, this perception scarcely affects the point that the "imperial" provinces largely occupied wilder, less civilized regions, in many of which a regional cult was planted earlier: Vol. 1, 97–149; above, pp. 6–23. That the older, long Romanized, "senatorial" provinces should have been brought into line at a later stage would be entirely credible even if overwhelming evidence did not place this development in Narbonensis, Baetica and Proconsularis squarely within the Flavian period. *Contra* Le Roux (1994) 397–8 with nn. 6, 8, 9, 406, arguing that it is paradoxical to continue to distinguish between imperial and senatorial provinces in the context of the imperial cult; cf. Clauss (1999) 395.

[59] Vol. I, 2, 226, n. 29; Deininger (1964) 172–3; Pflaum (1965) 100, n. 66 *bis*.

[60] *Id.* (1989) 174–5, 178–9. Pailler argues that previous commentators, notably the writer, have been guilty of circular argumentation in deducing the chronology of the provincial cult in Baetica and Proconsularis from that of Gallia Narbonensis, the chronology of Narbonensis from that of Baetica and Proconsularis. The supposed "cercle vicieux" he exposes is plainly invalid as there is independent evidence to show that provincial cults in Narbonensis and Proconsularis originated under Vespasian (above, pp. 104–6; below, pp. 128–30).

[61] Pailler states (1989) 178, that seven priests of Baetica are now known, citing Étienne (1958) 126–30 (listing ten). This figure omits the considerable number of provincial

"Si Titus est déjà "divinisé" à ce moment, c'est que le "premier flamine" a été créé sous et par Domitien. Mais s'il ne s'était pas agi d'un "premier flamine de la province"?" Pailler agrees that, if the priest were the first from his community to hold office, this would normally be expressed by a clause of the *qui primus* type,[64] no example of which seems to be attested in Spain. On the other hand he rejects the idea that in the sequence *cui primo* the relative can simply be omitted and *primo* used predicatively to denote, say, the first to whom a statue has been raised or the first to be accorded an honour.[65] Two inscriptions of the Three Gauls which attest precisely this usage are not comparable, he argues, because they occur "dans un contexte très différent". In fact one of these was set up by the council of Tres Galliae to a provincial

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priesthoods that have come to light between between 1958 and 1989. For an approximate accounting of the present total see Vol. III, 2, 242–6.

[62] *Id.* (1965) 100.

[63] For the suggestion that *in Baetica* may belong not with *flamini Augustali* but some following phrase now lost see Clauss (1999) 401–2. This assumes an implausible order of words and would imply that *flamen Augustalis* records a municipal priesthood, presumably at Castulo. On the lists of Etienne (1958) 199–212, no example of the formula *flamen Augustalis* occurs among the sixty-six priesthoods documented in Tarraconensis, none among twelve local priesthoods in Lusitania, and only a single example (at Italica) among twenty-five municipal priesthoods of Baetica.

[64] *Contra* Clauss, *o.c.* 402 with n. 73, preferring the solution of Deininger, followed by Pflaum (above, p. 114), that the honoree was first from his *patria* to serve as provincial priest in Baetica.

[65] Vol. I, 2, 227–8. See further *CIL* 3, 14219^{10} (= *ILS* 5490)

priest but in his own *civitas* (*CIL* 13, 3162 + *ILTG* 341), the other by the council of the Three Gauls at the altar in the federal centre but to a deserving procurator (*CIL* 13, 1680, cf. 1687). Minor differences of circumstance aside, both texts look entirely comparable in syntax to the suggested possible sense of the Castulo text, which Pailler takes (surely wrongly) to have been set up by the province of Baetica.

As for the alternative possibility that *primo* could have been followed by a noun such as *patrono*, Pailler remarks: "Quant à une formule du type *primo patrono*, finalement envisagée par le même auteur sur le modèle de cursus municipaux, elle est hautement improbable dans un tel fragment terminal de cursus direct. Elle supposerait en particulier l'existence d'une sorte de "patronat provincial" nullement attestée dans la documentation comparable". Two assertions here cry out for refutation. In the first place to cap the provincial flaminate with the office of municipal patron, far from being extremely improbable, is by no means uncommon: in particular three(?) priests of Narbonensis, one of Sardinia, one of Proconsularis, perhaps also one of Lusitania served as patrons of a local community subsequent to provincial office.[66] As for the provincial patronage, Pliny the Younger records that he acted as patron of Baetica on two occasions (*Ep.* 3, 4, 3–4), while elsewhere the office is epigraphically attested throughout much of the Latin west.[67] Specifically, the Alpes Maritimae, Dalmatia and Hispania Citerior have all produced one provincial patron, Britannia and Mautetania Tingitana two each, Mauretania Caesariensis no less than seven, while a single individual is recorded as patron of all three Spanish provinces. Of particular interest for present purposes is that C. Subrius Secondinus was both provincial *flamen* and patron of the Maritime Alps (*CIL* 5, 7917). Clearly, then, the possibility that the *ignotus* at Castulo served as municipal or provincial patron following his provincial priesthood cannot be dismissed out of hand.

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[66] So Q. Soillius Valerianus (*CIL* 12, 3275: patron at Apt; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 55); Q. Solonius Severinus (*CIL* 12, 3184: patron at Fréjus); apparently also M. Cominius Aemilianus (*CIL* 12, 3212–3: patron of the Vocontii; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 56). For discussion see Burnand (1975) 779, 782. Further L. Cornelius Marcellus (*CIL* 10, 7518: patron at Sulci); P. Iulius Liberalis (*CIL* 8, 4352: patron at Verecunda); perhaps also M. Cornelius Persa (*IRCP* 7: patron at Ossonoba; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 50). Of particular note in the present context is that M. Cominius Aemilianus appears also to have been patron of the *severi Augustales corporati*. Further discusion in Vol. III, 2, 305.

[67] For discussion and documentation see Deininger (1965) 168–9, noting further examples of the office in Bithynia, Crete and Cyprus.

There remains the attributive use of *primus*. It was argued in detail on an earlier occasion that, when *primus* is used to denote rank or chronological priority, it occurs immediately after or before the noun it qualifies; cf. *flamen primus*.[68] Pailler objects that very few of the examples cited in this sense concern provincial priests—as though the use of *primus* modifies according to whether the priesthood is provincial or municipal.[69] Yet the point at issue is surely the relationship of *primus* to its noun whatever that might be, and what the overwhelming number of instances confirms is that *primus* is not separated by an intervening phrase. If, then, the *ignotus* at Castulo was the first *flamen* of Baetica, the word order ought to run *flamini Augustali primo in Baetica*. One exception to this general usage is a text from Caesarobriga:

> *Domitia L. f.* | *Proculina* | *[f]laminica provin[c(iae)]* | *Lusitan(iae) et flam(inica)* | *[m]unicipi sui prim[a]* | *et perpetua* (*CIL* 2, 895 = *ILS*, 6895)

In this case it was suggested that *flam. municipi sui* might match *flaminica provinc. Lusitan.* for reasons of euphony and symmetry. Also *prima* does not stand alone but is linked with *perpetua*—which may explain why *prima et perpetua* then follows rather than precedes *municipi sui*.[70] Pailler rejects this reasoning on the perverse grounds that *prima* limits the provincial priesthood, *perpetua* the municipal—which would thus establish a clear case of *primus/a* separated from its noun.[71] Surely this is to distort the Latin. It might be added that, whereas a provincial priesthood can be *primus* but never *perpetuus*, the corresponding municipal office can be both; see further *CIL* 2, 1944 (Fuengirola): ... *sevir Augustalis* | *in municipio Suelitano* | *d. d. primus et perpetuus* | ... .[72]

Finally, there is the vexed inscription of L. Calpurnius Augustalis at Thubursicu Numidarum:[73]

> *L(ucio) Ca[lpur]nio* | *Pap[ir(ia) (tribu) Au]gus* | *tal[i Aspr]ena* | *tis f[il(io) aed]ili* | *(duum)vir[o flamini]* | *perp(etuo) [sacerdoti]* | *pr(ovinciae) Af[ricae pr]i* | *mo o[rdo et popul]us* | *in cu[rias cont]ribu* | *tus a[ere conla]to ob* | *merita [fecer(unt) et] dedic(averunt)* (*ILAlg*, 1, 1295)

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[68] Vol. I, 2, 225–7 with nn. 25–6.

[69] *Id.* (1989) 179.

[70] Vol. I, 2, 225, n. 26.

[71] *Ibid.*, erroneously reading ... *et flamen municipi sui prima ac perpetua*.

[72] Veyne (1966) 146, n. 4, cites this inscription without indication of intervening words between *sevir Augustalis* and *primus et perpetuus*.

[73] For detailed analysis see Fishwick, Calpurnius (1998) 73–82.

Gsell and others understood [*sacerdoti*] | *pr(ovinciae) Af*[*ricae pr*]*i*|*mo* in the sense that Calpurnius was the first from his native town to hold the provincial priesthood. Against this it was argued that *primo* cannot go with [*sacerdoti*] since it does not immediately precede or follow the office it supposedly limits,[74] an objection which in Pailler's view amounts to "nouvelle pétition de principe, qui permet d'esquiver le parallèle assez patent de cette formule avec celle de Castulo."[75] How this can be circular reasoning when the regular contiguity of *primus* and the noun it qualifies has already been established independently on the basis of numerous other examples is difficult to see. It was tentatively suggested, therefore, that the meaning may be that Calpurnius was the first to receive a statue as in the two parallel dedications of the Three Gauls. This proposal would be considerably strengthened by adoption of a modified completion of line seven. Re-examination of the text in light of other epigraphical references to provincial priests of Proconsularis suggests the preferable reading [*sacerdoti*] | *pr(ovinciae) Af*[*r(icae) cui pr*|*imo or*[*do et popul*]*us* ... .[76] On this restitution the fact that L. Calpurnius was the first to receive a statue by public subscription would now be recorded by a construction of the *qui primus* type, as regularly the case with notices of this kind.

It follows that no compelling reason has been demonstrated why in the Castulo inscription *primo* cannot be taken with some succeeding word or phrase rather than with *flamini in Baetica*, where its function and meaning raise so many questions. Whether the remainder of the text was deliberately erased[77] or simply broken away can hardly be determined from the manuscript copy, which clearly shows punctuation marks gratuitously added by the copyist. A point worth repeating in conclusion, however, is that the text comes from Castulo (above, p. 115), which by the reign of Domitian was situated in the *conventus Carthaginiensis* of Hispania Citerior; given its proximity to the provincial boundary with Baetica this was more likely the priest's place of origin rather than, say, the location of his estate.[78] If so, to elect a priest whose *patria* lay outside the province would be most unusual, though a further example may occur in the case of P. Octavius Flavus, whose second-century inscription occurs at Acci in the same *conventus* of Hither Spain (*CIL* 2, 3395).[79] The explanation in either case may be that these centres had originally been part of Hispania Ulterior and as a result maintained close ties and family relations with Baetica. Whether the phrase *in Baetica* reflects this situation in the sense that our *ignotus* held the provincial priesthood in the neighbouring province is impossible to tell. In any event, whatever the correct completion of *flamini Augustali in Baetica primo* [... , it is difficult, if not impossible, to think that the first provincial priest of Baetica would have originated from a town that lay outside the very province.[80]

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[74] Vol. I, 2, 228, n. 35, adding that the first from some community to hold office, particularly in Proconsularis, is usually expressed by a relative clause.

[75] *Id.* (1989) 179.

[76] Fishwick, Calpurnius (1998) 79–81.

[77] Pailler follows Etienne (1958) 127, n. 6, in suggesting that the name of Domitian may have been obliterated as a result of his *damnatio memoriae.*

[78] Vol. I, 2, 226, n. 31; Castillo (1998) 439.

All things considered, then, it looks most unlikely that the unknown honoree at Castulo could have been the first provincial priest. It follows that the foundation of the provincial cult of Baetica must have occurred earlier. When precisely is not directly in evidence but comparison with the epigraphic record in other provinces, notably Gallia Narbonensis, Africa Proconsularis, Tres Galliae, Lusitania and Hispania citerior, strongly suggests the reign of Vespasian.

ii. A Flavian Regulation at Corduba

For support, if not outright confirmation, of this conclusion one can turn to a series of honorific texts preserved at Corduba. These conform to a standard pattern in giving the name of the incumbent along with his Roman tribe, filiation, origin and priestly title.[81] After notice of the completion of the *flamonium* follows a dating by consuls, then a reference to the decree of the provincial council granting outstanding honours including a statue for which the priest himself (his father in *CIL* 2^2/7, 295) has paid:

> *C(aio) Antoni[o—] fil(io) Gal(eria) | Serano Ịporcens(i) | flamini Divor(um) Aug(ustorum) provinc(iae) | Baeticae | huic consummato honore flamoni P(ublio) Cluṿiọ Ṃax̣⟨imo⟩ | M(arco) Servilio Silano co(n)s(ulibus) consensu concil[i pro]vin-*

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[79] Castillo, *o.c* 452, no. 16.

[80] The first *flamen* of Narbonese Gaul, Q. Trebellius Rufus (above, pp. 100–4), was a native of the minor town of Tolosa in Narbonensis but had earlier enjoyed a distinguished earlier career both locally in his *patria* and at Rome, where he held the post of *summus Caeninensis*. This prestigious office, conferred in practice by the emperor, may have contributed to his appointment as first *flamen* of the province; see Fishwick, Knight (1998) 84–9. Neither the origin nor the previous career of the *ignotus* at Castulo is comparable.

[81] Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 288–91.

> *c(iae) | Baetic(ae) dec[re]ti sunt honores quantos q̣[uis]que | mạximos c[ons]ẹcutus est cum statua cụ[ius h]ọnore | [a]ccepto inpensam remi[sit].*
> (*CIL* 2^2/7, 291; A.D. 152: south forum; Pl. 13)

> *L(ucio) Cominio L(uci) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Iulian(o) | Ilurconensi flamini | Divorum Augg(ustorum) provinc(iae) | Baetic(ae) huic consumma|to honore flamoni | Aproniano et Maurico | co(n)s(ulibus) consensu concili pr(ovinciae) | Baetic(ae) decret(i) sunt honor(es) | quant(os) quisq(ue) max(imos) consecutus | est cum statua cuius honor(e) | acc(e)pt(o) inpensam remisit.*
> (*CIL* 2^2/7, 293; A.D. 191: central forum; Pl. 14)

> [- *Fabio M(arci) f(ilio) Gal(eria) —]do | [flam]ini Divor(um) Aug(ustorum) | provinc(iae) Baet[ic(ae)] | huic consummato hono[re flam]oni | Cattio Sabino II Cornel(io) Anull[in]o co(n)s(ulibus) | consensu concili universae prov(inciae) Baet(icae) | decreti sunt honores quantos quisque | maximos plurimosque flamen est | consecutus cum statua |* (vac. v. 1) *M(arcus) Fab(ius) Basileus Celt(itanus) pater | honore accept(o) impens(am) remisit.*
> (*CIL* 2^2/7, 295; A.D. 216: south forum)

With these records from the mid-second to the early-third century can be compared a curious text from an equestrian base at Mellaria; long known from a copy, the original stone has recently been rediscovered still embedded in the inner wall of the porch of Sta. María del Castillo at Fuente Ovejuna.[82] The inscription records that in some year after A.D. 99 the local *ordo* has decreed extravagant honours to C. Sempronius Speratus, including not only funeral expenses and a eulogy but also two equestrian statues, the base of one of which bore the dedication in his honour. A peculiar feature is that into the middle of the record (lines 5–9) has been inserted what looks to be, at least in part, a paraphrase or resumé of the honorific text that stood below the statue which the provincial council unanimously decreed at Corduba:[83]

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[82] Information kindly supplied by A. U. Stylow. For the main features of the text see the basic discussion of Stylow (1987) 100–3 with commentary *ad CIL* 2^2/7, 799; further Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 283–4 with nn. 1–3. I am very much indebted to W. Eck, G. Di Vita-Evrard and A. U. Stylow for helpful criticism and generous assistance with suggestions and corrections.

[83] For the view that lines 5–7, which mention the election of Sempronius (below), were drafted by the local *ordo* at Mellaria, drawing upon the vocabulary of the formula used at Corduba, see Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 289. The remainder of lines 7–9 clearly echoes the formula found in *CIL* 2^2/7, nos. 291, 293, 295: in particular *peracto honore flaminico* corresponds to *consummato honore flamoni*, while *omn(is) concilii consensus statuam decrevit* resumes *consensu concili provinciae ... consecutus est cum statua.* If this interpretation is correct, only part of the insert, lines 7–9, can be considered a summary extract from the formula at Corduba. The passage as a whole is rather an adaptation into which the *ordo Mellariensis* has added a new element, the election of Sempronius at Corduba in July/August of A.D. 98, as the suffect consuls show.

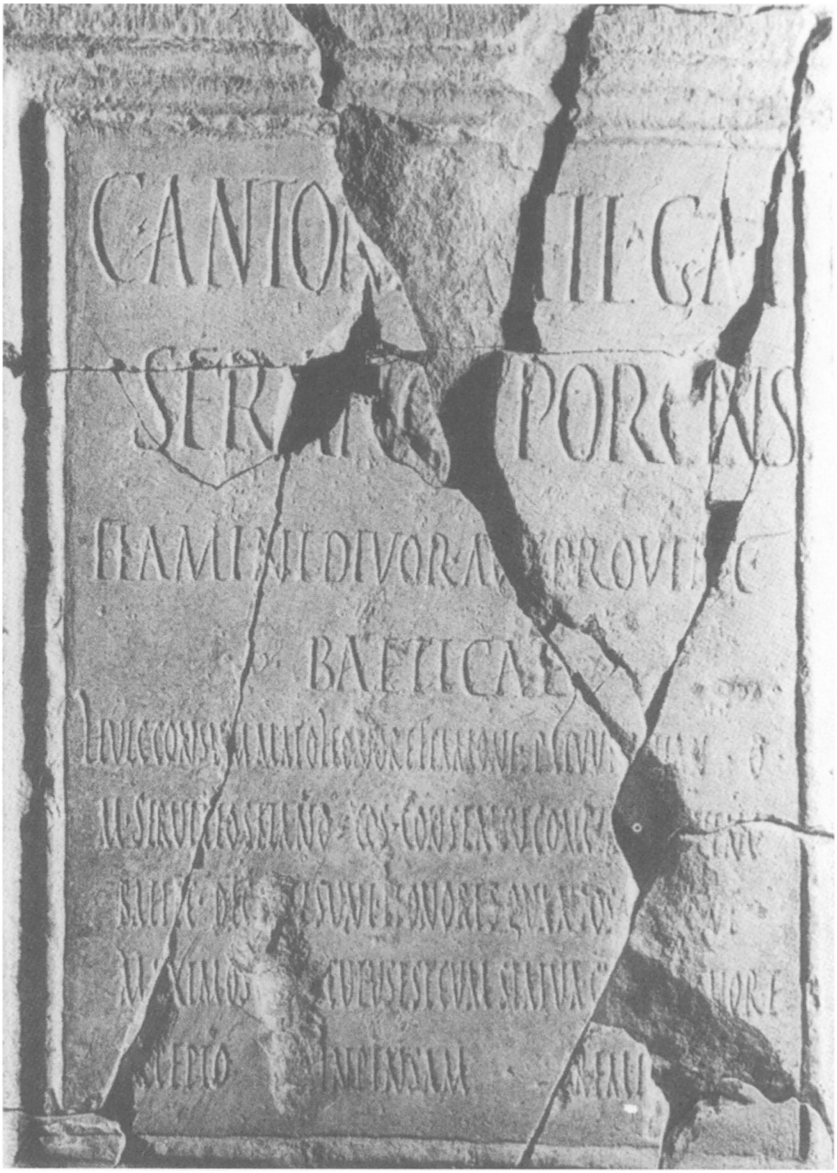

Plate 13. Inscription of C. Antonius Seranus.

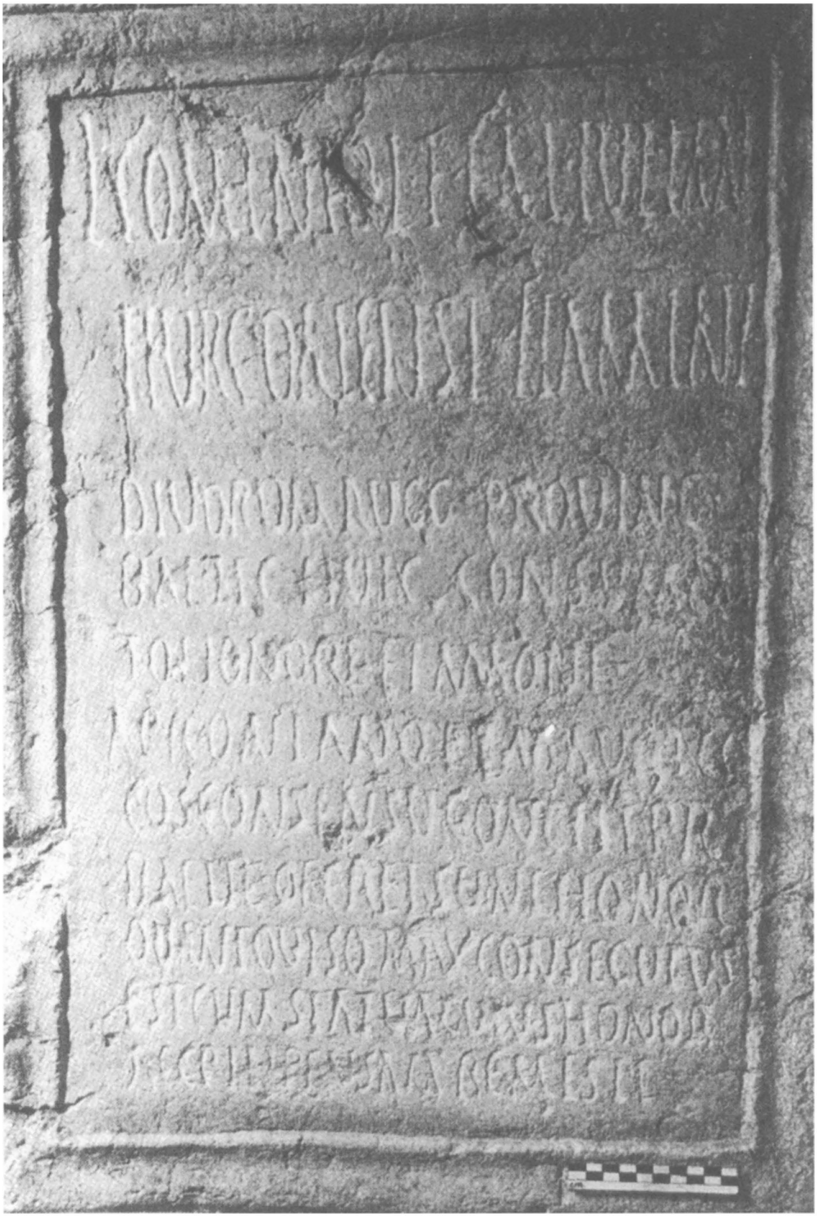

Plate 14. Inscription of L. Cominius Iulianus.

> *C(aio) Sempronio Sperato | flamini Divorum Augg(ustorum) | provinciae Baeticae | Imp(eratore) Nerva Traiano Caes(are) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) II{I}*[84] | *⟨A(ulo)⟩ Vic⌜i⌝rio ⌜Martiali⌝ et L(ucio) Ma⌜e⌝cio Postumo co(n)s(ulibu)s | hic provinciae Baeticae consensu flamini⌜s⌝ | munus est consequutus peracto honore | flaminico e⌜i⌝ FECIALI omn(is) concilii consensus | statuam decrevit. | huic ordo Mellariensis decreverunt sepult(urae locum) | impens(am) funeris laud(ationem) statuas equestres duas* | [——] *Venusta uxor honore accept(o) | imp(ensa) remissa p(osuit).*
>
> (*CIL* 2^2/7, 799; *ca.* A.D. 100: Mellaria)

The concluding formula in all three honorific texts at Corduba is broadly consistent: *huic consummato honore flamoni ... et ... consulibus consensu concili provinciae Baeticae / consensu concili universae provinciae Baeticae decreti sunt honores quantos quisque maximos consecutus est cum statua / quantos quisque maximos plurimosque flamen est consecutus cum statua.* How precisely the consular dating is to be understood is unclear.[85] One possibility is that the consuls date the completion of the *flamonium*; in other words a virtual comma is to be placed after *cos.*: *huic, consummato honore flamonii* x (*et*) y *cos., consensu provinciae ...* . In favour of this interpretation is the fact that the names of the consuls follow as closely as possible upon the ablative absolute *consummato honore flamoni.*[86] One might compare the records left by the *curatores aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum*, in all of which the consular dating follows upon a main verb or, much more frequently, the participial form *dedicata/dedicatum* placed at the end of the text.[87] The alternative would be to place a virtual comma after *consummato honore flamoni*, in which case the consular dating belongs with the main verb *decreti sunt* as Étienne holds.[88] A point which supports this is that in the Mellaria inscription in particular the consular names precede the finite verb *est consequutus* (lines 5–7). Often enough, a dating by consuls stands at the head of an epigraphical text, as for example in a local dedication at Cornus to M. Cominius Crescens, *sacerd(otalis) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)* (*CIL* 10, 7917, Pl. 16, cf. *CIL* 12, 3637), but comparison with a broad range of texts produces no recognizable pattern; inconsistency is rather the rule.[89] Which of the two versions happens to be correct is therefore a matter of personal judgement based on the reader's acquaintance with similar texts. *A priori* one would have thought it more important to date the completed year of office (*consummato honore*) than the decree of honours that were a consequence of meritorious tenure. The priesthood is certainly dated by consuls at an early stage in Tres Galliae and by the year of a special era in Proconsularis (below, pp. 150–4, 128–30). For present purposes it is sufficient to note that, while the distinction is real enough in syntax, it makes little difference in practice. On the former view the consuls date the closure of the priesthood upon which the decree of the council is consequent, on the latter the consuls date the decree of honours following the closure of the priesthood.[90] So on either interpretation the priesthood is dated, whether directly or indirectly.

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[84] Stylow rightly emphasizes that to combine the *ordinarii* who began the year with a pair of *suffecti* who served for part of it is "ganz ungewöhnlich"—especially so when only the second *ordinarius* is mentioned, in this case none other than the emperor Trajan: *id.*, (1987) 102. For Stylow's view that the citizens of Mellaria might have added the name of the emperor, as single, surviving *ordinarius*, in order to add lustre to the occasion when a local notable was elected to the distinguished office of provincial priest see Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 284–5. On the alternative possibility that the third consulship of Trajan (served in A.D. 100) might date the inscription, so connect in sense with lines 10–13 see *ibid.* 285, n. 13 with the objections of Stylow. By this interpretation the figure III, handed down in all manuscript copies, would be retained and the *praenomen* of Vicirius Martialis will have been omitted either in the original text or, more likely, in the transcription. To name only the emperor as one of the *ordinarii* would then be in line with occasional usage attested elsewhere; cf. *CIL* 2, 1610, 5763; *CIL* 10, 7852.

[85] For the divided view of commentators see Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 288–9.

[86] Cf. Stylow (1987) 102, n. 118: "... die Inschriften der baetischen Provinzflamines des 2. und 3. Jhs. ... in denen die Datierung stets auf die Standardformel *huic consummato honore flamoni* folgt und mit ihr sprachlich engstens verbunden erscheint".

[87] Eck (1991) 25.

The relevance of this analysis is that the Corduba inscriptions patently reflect the operation in Baetica of a provision similar to one of the regulations of the *lex de flamonio provinciae Galliae Narbonensis* (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964). According to this rubric (lines 9–13), the provincial *flamen* for the following year is to introduce a motion as to whether the past incumbent should be honoured with a statue following the close of his mandate. If the latter is in good standing and the council agrees, he shall be permitted to set up a statue to himself with an inscribed pedestal giving his name, filiation, origin and year of office:[91]

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[88] *Id.* (1958) 130 *ad CIL* 2, 2221 (= *CIL* $2^2/7$, 295). Kindly suggested independently by W. Eck and G. Di Vita-Evrard.

[89] A glance at the numerous texts assembled by Eck (1991) suggests that in military diplomas (Eck, *o.c.* 19) the consular dating as a rule comes almost at the end of the document; in imperial decisions recorded epigraphically (Eck, *o.c.* 21–2.) the consular dating can be at the beginning, in the middle, or at the close of the text; in records of municipal *decreta decurionum* (Eck, *o.c.* 29 with n. 42) the consular dating is more often at the beginning but frequently also at the end of the document; in private dedications in the provinces from the first and second centuries A.D. (Eck, *o.c.* 40) the consular dating is sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end.

[90] This would be possible in *CIL* $2^2/7$, 291 only if the priestly year began, say, in October; *CIL* $2^2/7$, 293, 295 could accommodate either view. For discussion of the parameters of the priestly year see below, Vol. III, 2, 226–31.

> 9. *De honoribus eius qui flamen f̣[uerit]*
>
> 10. *[Si is qui flamen fue]rit adversus hanc legem nihil fecerit, tum is qui flamen erit c[urato ut* ...27...]
>
> 11. [.3. *per tabell]ạs iurati decernant placeatne ei qui flamonio abierit permitti sṭạ[uam intra fines templi* ... *ponere. Si placu-]*
>
> 12. *[erit ius sta]tuae ponendae nomenque suum patrisque et unde sit et quo anno fla[men fuerit inscribendi permitti, ei]*
>
> 13. *[Narbo]ni intra fines eius templi statuae ponendae ius esto, nisi cui imperator [Caesar* ...24... .

Gallia Narbonensis itself has produced no trace of the operation of such a provision but it seems clear that similar regulations were followed at Corduba, where in one way or another the year of the provincial *flamen* is explicitly dated on the three surviving pedestals of statues erected to a provincial priest (above). The sole discrepancy is that in *CIL* $2^2/7$, 295 the place of origin is for some reason omitted in contrast to the practice of *CIL* $2^2/7$, 291, 293. In the local dedication at Mellaria (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 799) mention of the filiation, tribe and place of origin is excluded, presumably as superfluous,[92] but the circumstance that the election of Sempronius is dated by consuls (lines 5–7) surely reflects indirectly the formula attested by *CIL* $2^2/7$, 291, 293, 295. If so, *CIL* $2^2/7$, 799 confirms that a regulation similar to that of the Lex Narbonensis was operative in Baetica at the close of the first century, so no doubt from the installation of the provincial cult under Vespasian.[93] There is a slight difference of emphasis in that according to the Narbonese law the council shall decide whether the priest himself should be permitted to put up his own statue, whereas in the Corduba texts the council has decreed the greatest honours including a statue,[94] but it is certainly in keeping with the spirit of the same regulation that the honoree (in *CIL* $2^2/7$, 295 his father) supports the costs of the statue. E. Kornemann remarked that this is entirely consistent with a law passed under so parsimonious an emperor as Vespasian.[95]

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[91] Williamson (1987) 184–5.

[92] Deininger (1964) 176; Stylow (1987) 101, n. 111, citing Fishwick (1964) 357.

[93] Deininger, *ibid.*

[94] Stylow (1987) 102, n. 118.

[95] *Id.* (1901) 126.

As for the other honours Speratus enjoyed, further reference to the same section of the Narbonese law reveals what form these probably will have taken:

> 13. ... *Eidem*]
>
> 14. [*i*]*n curia sua et concilio provinciae Narbonensis inter sui ordinis secundum lẹ*[...35...]
>
> 15. *sententiae dicendae signandique ius esto; item spectaculo publico in provinciạ* [...22... *interesse liceto prae-*]
>
> 16. *textato eisque diebus, quibus cum flamen esset sacrificium fecerit, ea veste pẹ*[...42... vacat] (lines 13–16)

By the terms of this rubric, then, a past priest shall have the right to give his opinion and to vote, seated among the men of his rank—*inter* (*homines*) *sui ordininis*—both in his local *curia* and in the provincial assembly. Here the emphasis is clearly upon the special rank he shall enjoy as past *flamen*.[96] In addition the former *flamen* shall be entitled to attend the public show, no doubt in a special seat like the current *flamen* (line 5), wearing the purple-bordered *toga praetexta*, while on the days he offered sacrifice when in office he shall also have the right to wear his vestment.[97] If regulations comparable to those of the Lex Narbonensis were applicable in Baetica, as certainly looks to be the case, this nexus of honours would appear entirely in keeping with the formula *honores quantos quisque maximos plurimosque flamen est consecutus cum statua* or variant. When these various provisions were introduced is not directly in evidence, but everything suggests that they derive as in other provinces from the reign of Vespasian.

iii. The Provincial Cult

Evidence for the content of the provincial worship in its initial stage is restricted to the formulae of the priestly titles, all of which record provincial *flamines*. As in Hispania Citerior and Lusitania the term *flamen* implies the inclusion of the deified emperor or emperors,[98] a point confirmed explicitly by the single surviving formula of the provincial priestess, who served deified females as *flaminica Divarum Augustarum splendidissimae provinciae Baeticae* (*AE*, 1972, 270–1). In one early sepulchral *titulus* a

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[96] Williamson (1987) 185–6. For the rare term *flaminalis* see Vol. III, 2, 295.

[97] Williamson, *o.c.* 186. See further Vol. III, 2, 9–10.

[98] Vol. I, 1, 165–7.

flamen is designated *designatus* (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 294b), plain indication that he died before assuming office,[99] but the record is otherwise uninformative. The earliest title to throw direct light on the content of the worship is that of the *ignotus* at Castulo, whose designation *flamen Augustalis* likewise occurs at an early stage in Lusitania (above, pp. 53–4), but twenty years or so later the title of C. Sempronius Speratus at Mellaria is *flamen Divorum Augg. provinciae Baeticae.* The formula is repeated, usually with a single *g* or *in extenso* in by far the majority of the twenty-three recorded priesthoods,[100] but two titles of the late second/early third century again read *flamen Divorum Augg.*[101] As is clear from the incidence of similar titles in Hispania citerior in particular, the reference is to the cult of living and dead Augusti.[102] In any event there can be no question that from the Flavian period the provincial cult of Baetica took much the same form as that of Hither Spain, though with the major difference that, as in Lusitania, no trace of Roma has so far emerged. All analogy requires that a cult which included the deified dead would be centred on a provincial temple like that at Tarraco and Emerita. Whether vestiges of such a structure have been correctly identified at the lower forum of Corduba in the vicinity of Calles Jesús y María and Ángel de Saavedra remains to be confirmed.[103]

Africa Proconsularis

The provincial centre of Proconsularis was located at Carthage, which Apuleius identifies as the seat of the *concilium Africae* (*Flor.* 18, 15). Its exact whereabouts are uncertain but on the hypothesis of P. Gros both the provincial administration and the provincial cult will have had their headquarters at the forum on the esplanade of Byrsa, the monumental and civic centre of Carthage.[104] No trace of any memorial to a priest of the province has yet appeared in this zone but fifteen priests are known otherwise, all but one of these (Augustinus, *Ep.* 138, 4, 19; Apuleius, *Flor.* 16, 72, 20) from local inscriptions. Three of their records are unique in preserving information unparalleled in the development of provincial ruler cult in the Latin West: a year of tenure from which can be calculated the approximate date when the official worship of the province was inaugurated.[105]

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[99] Vol. III, 2, 295.

[100] Abbreviated in one case to *flamen Aug(ustorum)*. For a complete list of known priests of Baetica see Vol. III, 2, 242–6.

[101] For use of the double *g* to indicated the totality of emperors, living and dead, see Fishwick, *Numinibus* (1994) 129 with n. 12.

[102] Vol. I, 2, 274–6; Delgado (1998) 49ff.

[103] For detailed discussion see Vol. III, 3, 88–9 with n. 45 and Pls. 93–4.

[104] Gros (1997).

i. The Era of the Province

The salient feature of these texts is that in each version of the priest's title his term is calculated according to the year of some form of era:

> C. Otidius P. *f.* Quir. Iovinus: *sacerdos provinc(iae) Afric(ae) anni xxxviiii* (*CIL* 8, 14611; Simitthus)
>
> L. Iulius L. *f.* Quir. Cerealis: *flam(en) Aug. provinciae [A]fric(ae) anni xxxx* (*ILAfr* 458 + *AE*, 1964, 177; Bulla Regia: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LIV)
>
> P. Mummius L. *f.* Papir. Saturninus: *sac(erdos/otalis) p(rovinciae) A(fricae) a(nni) cxiii* (*CIL* 8, 12039 = *ILS* 6812; Furnos Maius).

The beginning of *an[ni* looks to be preserved in the very fragmentary title of an unknown priest at Mactar: [*sac.? prov(inciae) A*]*fr(icae) an*[*ni* ... (*BCTH* (1951/2) 197; Picard, 1959, 266), but the priesthood of A. Luccius ... Felix Blaesianus recorded at Utica, *sac*[*erdos*] *provinciae Afri*[*cae a(nni)*?] (*CIL* 8, 25385) is best left out of consideration as mention of the year of tenure depends upon a restoration. Why this method of reckoning is omitted in other cases is unclear. Its absence could suggest that the community responsible for the text did not think it worth recording or even found the method confusing in light of a similar era applied to the priests of the Cereres, also in one centre at least to the local office of *sufes*.[106]

The most significant instance is the priesthood of P. Mummius Saturninus, whom an inscription at Furnos Maius records as provincial priest in the year 113. As this inscription can be dated to A.D. 183–5 on the basis of internal evidence from a series of other texts that attest his career (*CIL* 8, 12027–30), it would apppear that the provincial priesthood, the last office mentioned in his *cursus*, will have been held in one of these years. The beginning of the era by which he reckoned his office will therefore go back to A.D. 70–2 unless one is to suppose an interlude of several years between his tenure and the time the inscription was drafted; in that case the era would have started late in the reign of Nero.[107] No good reason has ever been advanced why this should be the case, however, whereas the early Flavian period marked a new beginning in various ways, above all in regard to provincial cults. In particular, an official worship was inaugurated certainly in Gallia Narbonensis and very probably in Baetica, while regulations comparable to those in Narbonensis look to have been also introduced in Tres Galliae, Hither Spain and Lusitania, perhaps also in Sardinia. In Proconsularis the foundation of a provincial cult would have been an equally appropriate step for Vespasian, who had been personally unpopular in a province that declared ultimately for Otho.

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[105] Vol. I, 2, 257–68.

[106] Gründel (1965); Fishwick, Calpurnius (1998) 74–6. At Chul (*AE*, 1992, 1805–6) the number of the year (calculated from the beginning of the suffetal constitution?) is added to the names of the incumbents whereas in peregrine centres with a Punic type of municipal organization the year of the *sufes/sufetes* is usually dated eponymously like the Athenian archonship. See in general Belkahia–Di Vita-Évrard (1995) noting (p. 256) that *archontes* is the normal Greek equivalent of *suffetes*.

The central issue is how this era should be understood. Toutain supposed it was political like the era of the province of Mauretania, yet the inauguration of a new political era seems in practice to have resulted from the creation of a province by annexation or conquest, as in the case of Mauretania or Arabia.[108] In Africa no such point of departure occurs under Vespasian, Domitian or Trajan. A further incongruity with the era of Mauretania is that inscriptions of this province conventionally end *a(nno) p(rovincae) xx* vel sim.,[109] whereas the provincial priests C. Otidius Iovinus, L. Iulius Cerealis and P. Mummius Saturninus were not incumbents in a particular year of the province of Africa but priests of the province in the 39th, 40th, and 113th year respectively.[110] It is hardly surprising, then, if the vast majority of commentators have followed the original view of Cagnat that the era is religious rather than political. This looks an obvious inference in any case given that it appears in connection with the tenure of priests of the provincial cult. In addition it has usually been urged in support that a similar era is attested in the case of priests of the Cereres, who date their year according to the *annus* of a similar era: for example, *sacerdos Cererum*

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[107] Vol. I, 2, 257–61.

[108] See recently Di Vita-Évrard (1992) 857–61, arguing that the first year of the era dates from the onset of Roman domination, whereas the first day coincides with the conventional New Year's day of the local calendar.

[109] Di Vita-Évrard (1992) 843–64; *ead.* (1994).

[110] Pailler (1989) 180 with n. 38, misreads the inscription of Saturninus, which he takes to mean "113th *sacerdos* of the province of Africa": *sacerdos p. A. cxiii.* What the text in fact records is *sacerdos p. A. a. cxiii*: "priest of the province of Africa of the 113th year".

Karthagin. anni CXXX (*CIL* 8, 12318 = *ILS* 6814).[111] As this priesthood was based at Carthage, the principal town of Proconsularis and centre of the provincial cult (above, p. 127), everything suggests that the era of the provincial priests was in fact modelled on that of the Cereres already in use at the provincial capital. If so, the natural development, one would have thought, would be for the era to begin with the inauguration of the provincial cult in A.D. 70–2, though no earlier example that that of *annus xxxviiii* has yet appeared. It seems most unlikely that the system was formally introduced at some later stage, then calculated back to the foundation of the cult.

ii. A Flavian Regulation in Africa Proconsularis

A further point which immediately catches the eye is that in dating the year of tenure these local records of provincial priests of Proconsularis seem to obey a regulation similar to that prescribed in the Lex Narbonensis; presumably such a provision was followed in the honorific epigraphs beneath statues raised to provincial priests at Carthage and the practice then copied at centres elsewhere. It is true that the priests of Africa do not give their year by consuls but the peculiar use of an era is comprehensible as a local abberation conditioned by an existing local system of dating; in any case nothing in the relevant clause of the Lex Narbonensis requires that a priest's tenure should be indicated by consuls rather by the year of some other way of counting. Minor differences are that the place of origin is naturally omitted in a local civic inscription—much as we have seen to be the case at Mellaria in Baetica (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 799)—also that the *cursus* is included in contrast to the practice at Corduba, the provincial centre of Baetica.[112] But otherwise the correspondence looks strikingly close, especially when the beginning of the era goes back to A.D. 70–2, a date entirely suited to the introduction of Vespasianic regulations. On this score too, therefore, the foundation of a provincial cult in Proconsularis during the early years of Vespasian's reign looks a compelling inference.

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[111] For analysis see Gascou (1987); Fishwick, Cereres (1996) 17–36.

[112] For the regular inclusion of the *cursus* in epigraphs of provincial priests at Tarraco see below, p. 158.

iii. The Provincial Cult

Information on the content of the official worship of Proconsularis is extremely limited.[113] The original title of the priest was *flamen*, which late under Trajan changed to *sacerdos*, a variation attributable to parochial concerns, in particular the greater prestige of *sacerdos* in the local cults of Africa (below, pp. 192–3). Before then, two instances of the title *flamen* include *Aug.* within the priestly formula, the only direct reference to the nature of the worship which we possess: C. Iulius Crescens, *flamen Aug. provinciae Africae* (*AE*, 1916, 13; 1925, 23–4; 1949, 40: Cuicul, before *ca.* A.D. 110–12); L. Iulius L. f. Quir. Cerealis, *flam(en) Aug. provinciae* [*A*]*fric(ae) anni xxxx* (*ILAfr* 458 + *AE*, 1964, 177: Bulla Regia, *ca.* A.D. 110–12). In other provinces, notably Hither Spain, Lusitania and Baetica, *flamen* is the term associated with the cult of the *divi*, whereas *sacerdos* first appears in connection with the worship of Roma and the living Augustus. These considerations strongly suggest, therefore, that *flamen Aug.* should be completed either *flamen Aug(ustalis)* or *flamen Aug(ustorum)*, very much as in line 21 of the Narbonese charter. On either view the cult will have been addressed to the living emperor along with the deified dead. On the other hand there is nothing to suggest that Roma was included as in the provincial cult of Hither Spain, and to expand *Aug.* in the singular to *Aug(usti)* would place a *flamen* in charge of the cult of the living emperor, a step unprecedented elsewhere. In contrast a collective provincial cult would match exactly the well attested worship of Baetica, itself founded to all appearances under Vespasian.

Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana

Evidence for the provincial worship of the Mauretanian provinces is extremely sparse. In Caesariensis a single priest of indeterminate date is attested at Caesarea, the provincial capital and in all probability the centre of the provincial cult; the only informative feature of his inscription is the title *flamen provinciae* (*CIL* 8, 9409; 21066).[114] To this testimony can now be added a recently discovered altar, likewise at Caesarea, marking the grave of the provincial priestess Rubria Festa, whose title is omitted from her inscription but must have been *flaminica provinciae* in line with the formula of the provincial priest; on the basis of its letter forms the text is assigned to the late first/second century (*AE*, 1995, 1793). No priest of the neighbouring province of Tingitana has yet put in an appearance but traces of two priestesses are helpful.[115] One of these,]a Ocratiana, looks on epigraphical and prosopographical grounds to have served towards the end of the first century (*ILM* 135; *IAM* 443: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LVIIIb), while the name of the other, Flavia Germanilla, places her in the late first or second century (*ILAfr* 646; *IAM* 505).[116]

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[113] No provincial priest has yet been identified in Numidia following its creation as a separate province in A.D. 197/8: Vol. I, 2, 346, n. 176. The statement of Clauss (1999) 399, that the provincial priest of Numidia was possibly styled *flamen Divi Iuli* in the Julio-Claudian period, later under Vespasian *flamen provinciae* is entirely erroneous.

[114] Vol. III, 2, 205–6.

i. The Provincial Cult

No evidence bears directly on when a provincial cult was instituted in either province, but with earlier arguments in favour of a Claudian foundation no longer tenable the case for a foundation under Vespasian looks relatively strong.[117] Aside from the meagre chronological indications provided by cult personnel, the title *flamen / flaminica* points to an official worship that included deified personnages. Given that the Mauretaniae were well Romanized, the institution of a provincial cult in both provinces, doubtless based at Caesarea and Tingi respectively, could well have coincided with or followed shortly upon relatively late foundations in Narbonensis, Baetica, and above all the neighbouring province of Proconsularis; in all of these we have seen that a cult was installed early in the Flavian period. Beyond that, the later evolution is not discernible. Traces of a council certainly exist as do records of a remarkable number of provincial patrons—seven in Caesariensis and two in Tingitana—but none of this evidence can be dated earlier than the second century.[118] Testimony to the nature of the provincial worship in either province is limited to the bare title *flamen* and *flaminica*, but it is worth observing that there is nothing to show the provincial title later changed to *sacerdos* as in Proconsularis and Sardinia.

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[115] Ladjimi Sebaï (1990) 656–8, 681–2; Vol. III, 2, 207–9.

[116] Vol. I, 2, 288–9.

[117] Vol. I, 2, 282–94. At Caesarea neither the temple nor the sacred grove and altar have any relation to the provincial cult of Mauretania, as implied by Clauss (1999) 399. For discussion see Vol. I, 1, 147–8; I, 2, 286 with nn. 30–1.

[118] Vol. I, 2, 288 with notes 39–41.

Sardinia

A total of four surviving inscriptions throw light on the institution and development of the provincial cult of Sardinia, one of them defective, another preserved only in a badly made copy.[119] The principal text was found at Carales, the most important town of the island and seat of the provincial council, as attested by the close association of both the *concilium* and the provincial priesthood with the *ordo Karalitanorum* (see below):

> *Q. Gabinio A. f. Quir.* | *Recepto* | *iiiiviro iur. dic.* | *quinq. perpetuo* | *flamini divor. Aug.* | *ex consensu pr[o]vin.* | *pontif. sa[crorum faciendorum publicorum]*
> (*CIL* 10, 7599 = *ILS* 6763 + Sotgiu, 1988, C25)[120]

The stone records that Q. Gabinius Receptus served as *quattuorvir iur(e) dic(undo) quinq(uennalis) perpetuus*(?),[121] *flamen Divor(um) Aug(ustorum) ex consensu provinc(iae)*, finally *pontifex* for the performance of public sacrifices. Who was responsible for the dedication is not stated. If R. Zucca is right that the word *flamini* has been omitted before *perpetuo* (presumably by error of the *ordinator* rather than the lapicide),[122] the municipal flaminate at Carales will have preceded the flaminate of the *Divi Augusti*, to which Gabinius was appointed by the provincial council.[123] The title is of central interest in illuminating the content of the provincial cult, the full scope of which remains to be determined.

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[119] For an overview of earlier discussion see Deininger (1965) 110–11. I am very much indebted for advice on epigraphical problems to G. Di Vita-Evrard, and for contribution of local material, photocopies and photographs to A. Mastino and R. Zucca.

[120] For a seventh line of text see Sotgiu (1988) 658–9 with fig. 10 and Tav. XVIII, 2.

[121] So *CIL* 10, Index p. 1142, cf. Larsen (1931): in which case the term is a *hapax*. Presumably the meaning would be that Gabinius Receptus retained the title of *quinquennalis* after his year, an unparalleled usage. Edmondson (1997) 101–2, n. 49, suggests that *quinquennalicius*, recorded at Canusium in A.D. 223, could attest a parallel rank, but the title surely means past, not perpetual *quinquennalis*. The alternative possibility that *perpetuus* is to be understood with *flamen Divor(um) Aug(ustorum)*, as tentatively suggested by Dessau, looks implausible as *perpetuus* is not found with provincial titles and regularly appears *after* not before the priestly municipal title. Equally, an equivalence to *flaminalis*, the later term for a past provincial priest, is impaired by inclusion of the object of the cult, which never appears after the titles *flaminalis, sacerdotalis*. The word *flaminalis* is in any case extremely rare, occuring only in three examples in Baetica (*CILA* 2/2, 343: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 62; *ERBC* 113; *CIL* $2^2/7$, 297: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 65) and once in Hispania citerior (*RIT* 333).

[122] For the suggestion that Gabinius Receptus was municipal ⟨*flamen*⟩ *perpetuus* see Zucca (1994) 868, no. 13, dating the text to the first half of the second century.

[123] Vol. I, 2, 244. *Contra* Edmonson (1997) 102, n. 49, taking Gabinius Receptus to be a municipal priest, despite *ex consensu provinc(iae)*.

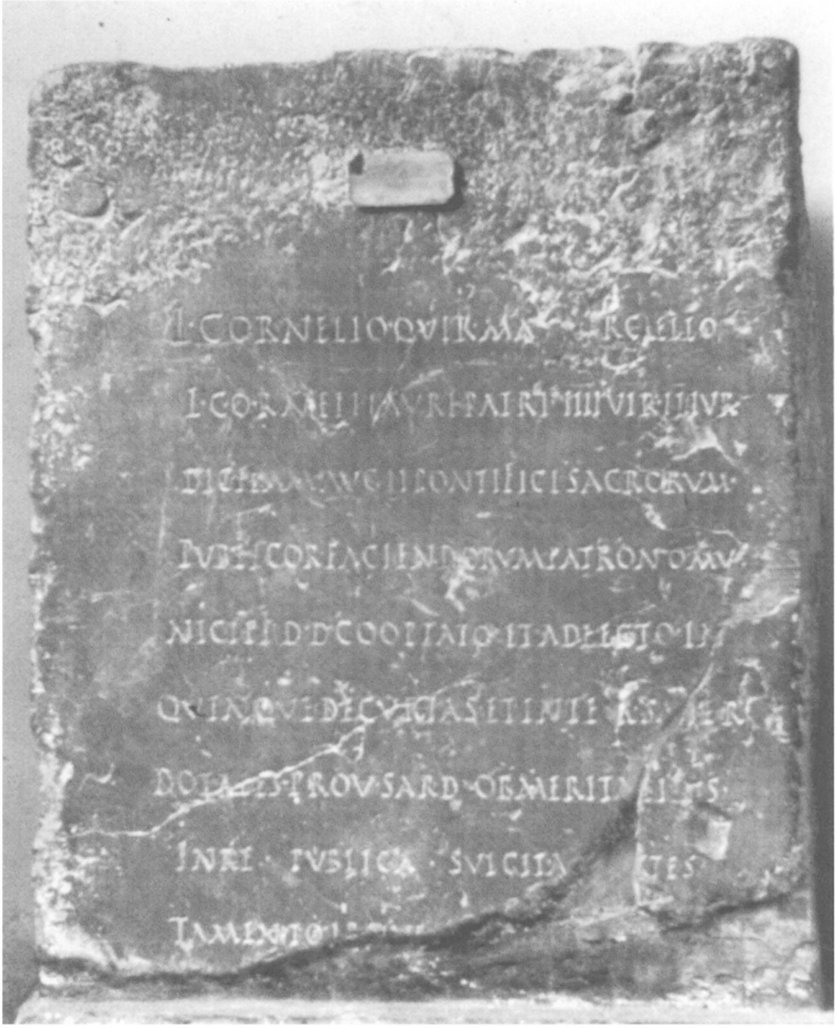

Plate 15. Inscription of L. Cornelius Marcellus.

More details are known of L. Cornelius Marcellus, the father of L. Cornelius Laurus, since on account of his merits the inhabitants of Sulci set up an inscription to him in the *respublica* as provided by the terms of his will:

> *L. Cornelio Quir. Marcello | L. Corneli Lauri patri iiiivir ii iur. | dic. flam. aug. ii pontifici sacrorum | publicor. faciendorum patrono mu|nicipi d. d. cooptato et adlecto*

> *in | quinque decurias et inter sa[c]er|dotales prov. Sard. ob merita [e]ius | in re publica Sulcita[ni e]x tes|tamento ipsius [posuerunt.*
>
> (*CIL* 10, 7518 = *ILS* 6764, Pl. 15)[124]

His municipal career included the offices of *quattuovir iur(e) dic(undo)*, which he held twice,[125] two terms as *flamen Aug.*, *pontifex* for the performance of public sacrifices (cf. the similar office of Q. Gabinius Receptus), and municipal patron, a post for which he was co-opted by decree of the decurions. He was then "adlected" into the five decuries of judges: that is, by favour of the Emperor, Marcellus will have been put on the list of honorary judges from which selection for actual jury service might or might not take place.[126] His principal claim to fame, however, is that he belonged among the *sa[c]erdotales prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*,[127] the title held by provincial priests after the year in which they exercised their function.[128]

i. A Flavian Regulation at Carales

Thirdly, a fragmentary text recovered at Cornus records the *cursus* of some local notable of whom only the *cognomen* Crescens is preserved in the facsimile reproduced in the Corpus, though re-examination of the stone tells strongly in favour of the full name M. Cominius M. *fil.* Crescens:

> *[...]ṭiano [...] Ba[s]so cos. | [...]ṇconiṇi[.] fil. Crescenti | sac[er]d. prov. Sard. adlec[to] | ab splendidissim[o] ordin. | [Ka]ṛal. ex consensu prov. Sar[d.] | [pont]if. [...] ci[v]ị[t]ạtis c̣[.]ṭịunei | [.]ṇo civi ẹquo [..]ṣṣii[.]iii | [..]uạ[...... ....]cuị[..] | [......]s . cc̣[....]o[.] oṛ[di]|nis continetu[r ... ụṛ] | munificen[tia] colle[gii] | [...] Ạrrio Iscini[....]| [.....]s[.....].*
>
> (*CIL* 10, 7917 = *AE*, 1997, 753, Pl. 16)[129]

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[124] Zucca (1994) p. 887, no. 74, dating the text to the second or early third century.

[125] In Fishwick, Bosa (1999) 222, n. 3, *ii* (= *iterum*) is miscopied *iivir*.

[126] Pflaum (1968) 184, noting that the distinction by no means implied actual service at Rome.

[127] See below, p. 138 with n. 136.

[128] Vol. III, 2, 189, 295.

[129] For the text *in extenso* see Mastino (1979) 111–12, developing ... *sac[er]d(oti)* (line 4); cf. Sotgiu (1988) 663; Zentile (1990–91) 134–6; Zucca (1994) 897, 899, no. 103. For the same name of the honoree see earlier M. Bonello in Mastino (1979) 112.

An uncertain dating by consuls evidently stood at the head of the text[130] but otherwise the surface of the stone is so worn that few words are still recognizable. His career may have included the office of *flamen* of the *civitas Cornensium* (line 6) and the doubtful reading *ẹquọ* (line 7) could indicate that Crescens was given the public horse. There is a reference to an *ordo* (lines 9–10), probably that of Cornus rather than of Carales (lines 4–5), also to a *collegium*, the members of which presumably supported the costs of dedicating a statue in recognition of his *munificentia* in their regard (line 11). But the principal interest of the inscription lies in the three lines of text that can still be read: *sac*[*er*]*d. prov. Sard. adlec.* | *ab splendidissim*[*o*] *ordin.* | [*Ka*]*ral. ex consensu prov. Sar.* (lines 3–5).[131] With the consent of the council of Sardinia Crescens, *sac*[*er*]*d. prov. Sard.*, has been "adlected" by the most distinguished local council of Carales. That this was the centre of the provincial cult, the seat of the *concilium provinciae*, seems confirmed by the fact that at Bosa (below, pp. 140–4) the provincial priesthood is likewise linked with the local *ordo* of Carales.

Hirschfeld took the title of Crescens to be *sac*[*er*]*d(os) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*.[132] The same reading is reproduced in the indices of *CIL* 10, which give *sacerd(os) provinciae Sardiniae adlectus ab splendidissimo ordine Karalitanorum ex consensu provinciae Sardiniae* (p. 1136). This completion is surely impossible, particularly in association with the following phrase. The principal task of the provincial assembly at its annual reunion was to elect a priest of the province from the legates sent by the various towns of the province to serve on the *concilium*.[133] It is difficult to imagine, then, that the central prerogative of this body, in large measure its raison d'être, could have been delegated to the local *ordo* of Carales. Krascheninnikoff, later followed by Kornemann,[134] consequently

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[130] Possibilities include Terentius Gentianus and (Pomponius) Bassus (A.D. 211), (Nummius) Aemilianus (Dexter) and (Ti. Pomponius) Bassus (A.D. 259), L. Ragonius Quintianus and M. Magrius Bassus (A.D. 289): Degrassi (1952) 59, 70, 76; Mastino (1979) *ibid.*, proposing [*Aemi*]*liano* [... *et*] *Ba*[*s*]*so cos*[*s*]. ou [*Quin*]*tiano* [... *et*] *Ba*[*s*]*so cos*[*s*].

[131] Fishwick, *Sacerdotalis* (1997) 449–59.

[132] Hirschfeld (1888) 854, n. 93.

[133] Deininger (1965) 150–1.

[134] Krascheninnikoff (1894) 156, n. 42; Kornemann (1901) 127. For *adlectus* in the sense of additionally admitted to a body see Marquardt (1881) 1, 190–1, cf. 147–8; Liebenam (1900) 232ff., 345. See further *ThLL* 1, col. 1664ff., especially 1666 (*de variis honoribus provincialibus*); Mommsen (1887) 2, 939–45; Abbot-Johnson (1926) 85. On the admission of outsiders to a local *ordo* see recently Saquete (1997) 89.

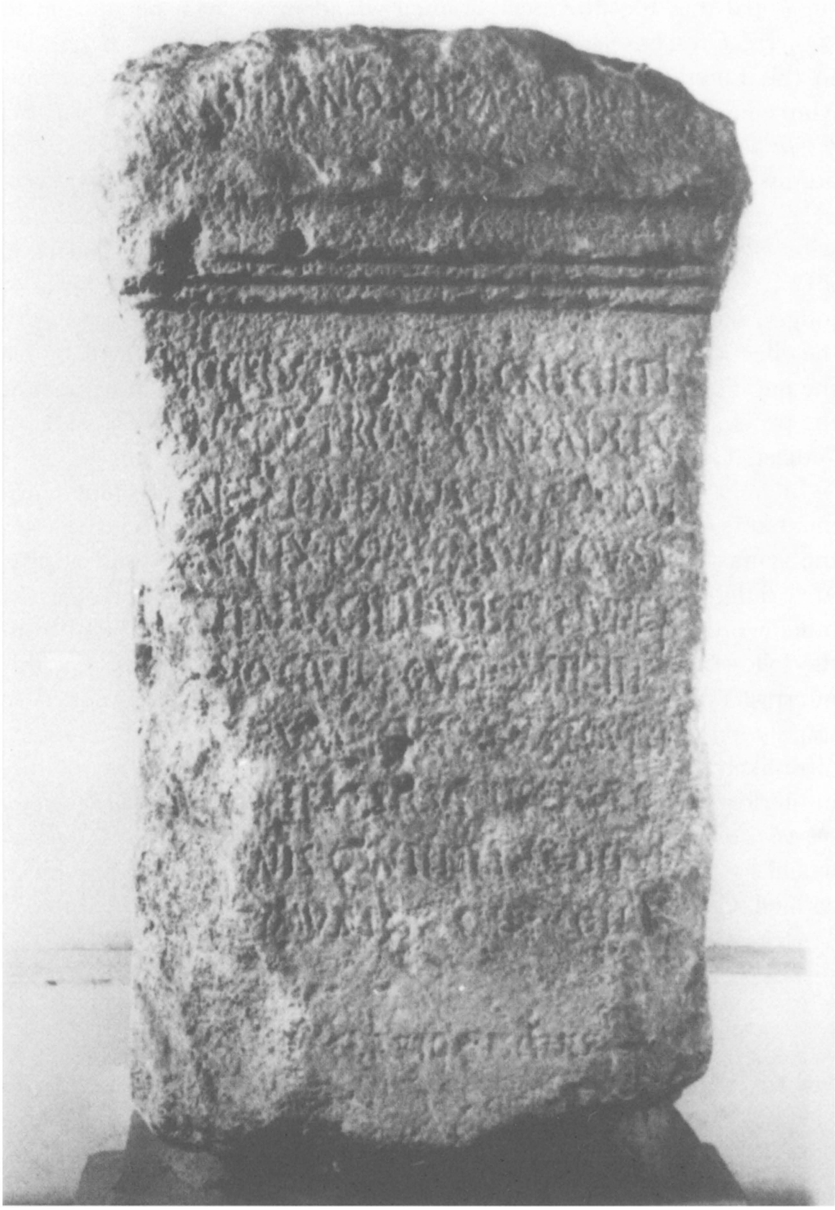

Plate 16. Inscription of M. Cominius Crescens.

suggested that the provincial council would have given permission to "adlect" Crescens *sacerdotalis*, past priest of the province.[135] A parallel to this function might be sought in the "adlection" of L. Cornelius Marcellus at Sulci (above): *adlectus in quinque decurias et inter sa[c]erdotales prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*; though in this case there is nothing to indicate admission by the local senate of Carales. That text is of interest, however, only if *adlectus* can be taken both with *in quinque decurias* and with *inter sa[c]erdotales prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*.[136] If such is not the case, if L. Cornelius Marcellus had been admitted only to the five decuries of judges, then the following phrase is simply an additional statement to the effect that he was one of the former provincial priests, in which case the parallel no longer applies. In any event it is difficult to imagine that the provincial assembly would have allowed the local *ordo* of Carales to "adlect" Crescens as either *sacerdos* or *sacerdotalis* of the province.[137]

In light of this difficulty it may be suggested that previous commentators, notably Hirschfeld and Kornemann, have misunderstood the syntax of the Cornus text. The *cursus* of Crescens would appear in a different light if a hypothetical comma is placed after *Sard.*; in other words if mention of the provincial priesthood is separated from the following allusion to "adlection" by the *ordo Karalitanorum*. On this interpretation the inscription honours Crescens, who is mentioned as *sac[er]d. prov. Sard.*—probably to be expanded *sacerd(otalis)* if, as seems most likely, the inscription dates from a period later than the year when he performed his functions. However, the following words *adlect(o) ab splendidissim[o] ordin(e) [Ka]ral(itanorum) ex consensu prov(inciae) Sar(diniae)* would go together in the sense that, with the consent of the provincial council, Crescens had been adlected a member of the *ordo* of Carales.[138] The precise implication of this must now be examined.

The regulations of the Flavian *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964) stipulate that the outgoing provincial *flamen* shall be entitled to give his opinion and to vote *in curia sua* seated *inter (homines) sui ordinis*—no doubt as *sacerdotalis*, a higher rank than he had enjoyed as a member of his local senate before election to the provincial priesthood:

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[135] Followed in Vol. I, 2, 244, n. 26. The reference in the text (p. 244, line 5) should be to Sardinia, not Sicily.

[136] Hirschfeld (1888) 854, n. 93, understands that L. Cornelius Marcellus was *cooptato et adlecto in quinque decurias et inter sa[c]erdotales prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*. On the convincing interpretation of G. Di Vita-Evrard, he was rather *patrono municipi d. d. cooptato, et adlecto in quinque decurias, et inter sa[c]erdotales prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*.

[137] Kornemann, *o.c.* 128, rightly draws attention to this anomaly: "Eine Singularität ist es auch, dass den Decurionen von Karales die Aufnahme unter die gewesen *sacerdotes* der Provinz, also in die Rangklasse der *sacerdotales*, allerdings unter Bestätigung des Provinziallandtages ... zustand."

[138] Kindly proposed by G. Di Vita-Evrard.

> 13. ... *Eidem*] |
>
> 14. [*i*]*n curia sua et concilio provinciae Narbonensis inter sui ordinis secundum lẹ*[...35...] |
>
> 15. *sententiae dicendae signandique ius esto; item spectaculo publico in provinciạ* ...

The same privilege can then be restored in the earlier rubric appropriate to the current priest -

> 4. [.35.]*ui in decurionibus senatuve* [*sententiae dicendae signandique* ...12...]

- except that the equivalent right must imply membership of the local council of Narbo, the seat of the provincial cult of Narbonensis, as the priest necessarily resided here for the duration of his tenure in order to perform every few days the liturgy of the provincial cult prescribed in the calendar:

> 19. [...35... *per reliquam*]
>
> 20. *partem eius anni eo ordine hab(e)to quo annuorum flamin*[*um habentur* ... .

Ex officio, therefore, the current provincial priest will have been a temporary member of the local *ordo* of Narbo, an honorary decurion with a rank doubtless equal to that of the town *duoviri*.[139] If the same provisions of a parallel enactment applied in Sardinia, the inscription of Crescens would record that, with the consent of the provincial council, the privilege he had enjoyed *pro tempore* during his priesthood had now been put on a permanent basis by his "adlection" as member of the *ordo Karalitanorum*. This would be in addition to his place as *sacerdotalis* on the *ordo* of his *patria* and continued membership of the provincial council. The significance of *CIL* 10, 7917 in that case is that it obliquely reflects an enactment similar or parallel to the Lex Narbonensis.[140]

In isolation this might seem a bold assumption, yet what recent research has revealed is that other clauses of the Lex Narbonensis are likewise reflected in various provinces of the Latin west. More partic-

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[139] As suggested by Williamson (1987) 181, cf. 185–6.

[140] Note that there is no trace—not at least in the surviving clauses of the Narbonese law—of any procedure such as that supposed by Krascheninnikoff and Kornemann, namely the election of an honorary past priest of the province.

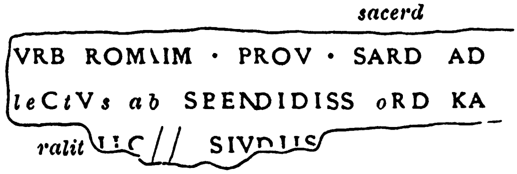
sacerd
VRB ROM\IM · PROV · SARD AD
leCtVs ab SPENDIDISS oRD KA
ralit SIV

Plate 17. Inscription of *ignotus* at Bosa Vetus.

ularly, the regulations for erecting a statue with inscribed base to the outgoing priest (lines 11–13) seem to be followed directly or indirectly in Baetica, Africa Proconsularis, Tres Galliae and Hispania Citerior, while in Lusitania an inscription patently echoes the provision at Narbo (lines 26–8) giving the provincial governor a say in the expenditure of surplus provincial funds on images and statues of the emperor. Quite clearly, parallel regulations to those of the Lex Narbonensis were operative in a whole range of provinces, to which can now be added Sardinia as attested indirectly by the inscription of Crescens at Cornus.[141]

The remaining inscription is a fragmentary *cursus* at Bosa Vetus known today only from the facsimile in the Corpus based on Schmidt's badly made *ectypus* of a damaged slab of trachyte; both the orginal and the plaster cast are now missing:[142]

> ...]*urb. Rom.* [ ]*ị̣m. prov. Sard. ad* | [*le*]*c*[*t*]*u*[*s ab*] *splendidiss.* [*o*]*rd. Ka* | [*ralit(a-norum)?* ...] *s*[*t*]*udiis*[... (*CIL* 10, 7940, Pl. 17).

Defective though the text is, the words *urb. Rom.* are clearly legible, followed by two letters which the copy reproduces as ỊM, evidently an abbreviation. Whether a reference to the province of Sardinia belongs with the preceding words is not immediately clear but a notice of "adlection" by the most distinguished *ordo* of Carales, the principal city of Sardinia, evidently qualifies the subject of the dedication. The final word before the lower right-hand break is barely decipherable but Hirschfeld's proposal *s*[*t*]*udiis* [... looks within the bounds of possibility despite the missing cross-bar of the T in the facsimile.[143] Regrettably, there is at first sight nothing in the preserved part of the text to suggest a firm date nor is there any clue to the dedicator.

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[141] The date of the Cornus inscription (A.D. 211, 259 or 289) would imply that regulations comparable to those of the Lex Narbonensis were still operative in the third century. One may compare the way one fragment of the charter of Lauriacum in Noricum (A.D. 212–17) reproduces the content of para. 25 of the Flavian *lex municipalis* in slightly different order, while other fragments look to echo snippets of sundry other chapters. See Curchin (1990) 20, n. 9, citing *FIRA* 1^2, 26 with M. H. Crawford, Appendix 2 to Gonzalez (1986) 241–3.

[142] Zucca (1994) 862 with nn. 39 and 43, 900 with n. 248, 901, no. 109, dating the text to A.D. 117–92. For the background of the text see Fishwick, Bosa (1999) 221.

Hirschfeld took the Bosa inscription to record a provincial priest of Sardinia:

> [*sacerdos*] *urb(is) Rom*[*ae et ...*] *prov(inciae) Sard(iniae) ad* | [*le*]*c*[*t*]*u*[*s ab*] *splendidiss(imo)* [*o*]*rd(ine) Ka* | [*ralitan*]*o*[*rum*] *s*[*t*]*udiis* [*populi ...?*].

The Corpus likewise supplies *sacerdos* but proposes the priestly title [*sacerdos*] *urbis Romae* [*et divorum Augustorum?*] *provinciae Sardiniae adlectus ab splendidissimo ordine Karalitanorum* (p. 1136), a restoration presumably based on the testimony of the provincial *flamen* found at Carales (above, p. 133). Neither proposal looks plausible. For one thing, *urbis* never occurs in the titles of provincial priests,[144] for another there is plainly no room for any reference to the *Divi Augusti* on the stone, so one would have to suppose that half of the priestly formula is omitted. In any case, as noted with reference to the inscription at Cornus, it is difficult to see how the *ordo Karalitanorum* can have been responsible for appointing a provincial priest. Krascheninnikoff, followed by Kornemann, consequently supplied *sacerdotalis*—a possibility first raised, then rejected by Hirschfeld—on the model of the supposed "adlection" of L. Cornelius Marcellus *inter sa*[*c*]*erdotales prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)* at Sulci and the (developed) office of *sacerd(otalis)* held by Crescens at Cornus.[145] A similar restitution in the Bosa text would then record the election of an honorary past priest of the province by the *ordo Karalitanorum.* As we have seen, however, there are overwhelming difficulties in supposing "adlection" as past provincial priest on the part of the local senate of Carales, nor is it obligatory to take *adlectus* in the Sulci text with *inter sa*[*c*]*erdotales prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)* rather than simply with *in quinque decurias*, to which it is patently appropriate.[146] As for the priestly title, Krascheninnikoff adopted the proposal of Schmidt that *et imp.* (with ligatures) stood after *Rom.*: *sacerdotalis?*] *urb(is) Rom(ae et) im*[*p(eratoris)*] *prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)* ....[147] Once again, however, this seems most unlikely. Aside from the difficulty of *urb(is), imp.* rather than the standard *Aug*, looks improbable in a priestly title: is there any precedent? In any case *sacerdotales* who have served a province seem nowhere else to indicate the content of the cult they had tended during their year of office.

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[143] Hirschfeld (1888) 854, n. 93, reading: ... *Ka* | [*ralitan*]*o*[*rum*] *s*[*t*]*udiis* [*populi factus*? But *factus* after *adlectus* is surely repetitive.

[144] Vol. I, 2, 356.

[145] Krascheninnikoff (1894) 156, n. 42; Kornemann (1901) 127–8.

[146] Above, p. 135, n. 126.

[147] Krascheninnikoff (1894) 156, n. 42; Kornemann (1901) 127 with n. 5, observing: "Die Ergänzung befriedigt nicht; doch weiss ich nichts besseres an die Stelle zu setzen."

In light of these various difficulties an interpretation along very different lines may be proposed. Two passages of the text are central to its proper understanding. In the first place mention of *urbs* surely limits the priesthood in practice to that founded by Hadrian, when he established the festival of Natalis Urbis in A.D. 121 and Roma Aeterna became the focus of a national cult served in Rome by a college of *duodecimviri*. In the provinces *sacerdotes* of the new cult occur with titles varying from *sacerdos urbis Romae aeternae* to simply *sacerdos urbis* but the formula *sacerdos urbis Romae* (sic) is attested at least twice.[148] As the priesthood was a local office served in the municipal cursus, hence in no way associated with the provincial cult of the emperor, it is difficult to see how *Urb. Rom.* (line 1) can have any connection with *prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*; mention of the province must rather be linked in some way with the preceding word of the text. Where our unknown honoree might have served the priesthood of Urbs Roma is not revealed, very possibly at Bosa itself rather than some other centre in Sardinia such as Carales.[149] In any event it follows that *sacerd(os)*] *Urb(is) Rom(ae)* stands apart—independently from the following phrase, the first word of which looks to be an abbreviation ending in M.

The second passage of critical interest explicitly records a link with the local senate of Carales: *ad* | [*le*]*c*[*t*]*u*[*s ab*] *splendidiss(imo)* [*o*]*rd(ine) Ka* | [*ralit(anorum)*? ...]. Here repetition of the same formula as at Cor-

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Much the same version is adopted by later commentators, notably Mastino (1978) 58–9, reading: [... *sacerd(os)*] | *urb(is) Rom(ae)* [*et*] *Imp(eratoris) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae) ad* | [*le*]*c*[*t*]*u*[*s ab*] *splendidiss(imo)* [*o*]*rd(ine) Ka* | [*ralit(anorum)* ...] *siu* [...]. See also *id.* (1979) 65, n. 21, observing that this priesthood is not associated with the provincial assembly in Africa; cf. Mastino (1984) 71, n. 315; further Boninu–Zucca (1992–94) 69, cf. 64.

[148] Toutain (1905–7) 1, 37–42 (the cults of Dea Roma and Urbs / Urbs Roma / Urbs Roma Aeterna are not differentiated); Vol. I, 2, 357, citing *CIL* 3, 3368, *AE* (1958) 134.

[149] That Bosa would have loyally followed the imperial lead in appointing a priest of Urbs Roma is suggested by a well-known local trace of the ruler cult (*CIL* 10, 7939), a large marble plaque recording the dedication between A.D. 138 and 141 of four silver *imagines* representing Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; by decree of the decurions the statuettes were placed, probably in the Augusteum of Bosa, by Q. Rutilius V[...], presumably a magistrate or local priest who supported the costs. See Mastino (1992–93) 118; Gasperini (1992) 297–301, no. 3; Boninu–Zucca (1992–94) 64, 68.

nus is surely to be explained on the same lines as in the case of Crescens (above, pp. 135–8). That the *ignotus* of Bosa was "adlected" a member of the *ordo* of Carales is, in fact, the interpretation of the text proposed by all Italian scholars,[150] but the above analysis of the Cornus text now reveals the background to his "adlection", a logical reason *why* he should have been admitted to the senate of the provincial capital. Evidently the Bosa text provides a second oblique reflection of regulations like those of the Lex Narbonensis, so reinforces the inference drawn from the Cornus text that similar provisions applied in Sardinia as in Narbonensis and so many other provinces.

It follows that our *ignotus* had served as provincial priest of Sardinia, a point confirmed beyond reasonable doubt by the preceding words *provinciae Sardiniae.* In that case the letters of the previous word can only have been FLAM, given that M is preserved and the spaces conform exactly if one supposes the use of ligatures.[151] The fact that P and and L, also N and D, are combined in SPLENDISSIMO (line 2) suggests that F and L, if not also A and M, might have been similarly joined in FLAM, but clearly the version of the first line preserved in the facsimile, in particular what looks like an I before M, is suspect. As for the final word of the preserved text, the lettering of which is uncertain, Hirschfeld proposed ... *s*[*t*]*udiis* and restored [*populi* ... after the break, certainly a possibility if *studiis* is correctly read (above, pp. 140–1).[152] What might have been the reason for this public enthusiasm one can only guess. Nothing goes to show that he was a public benefactor, for example, but as high priest he will have staged public games, an onerous liturgy which must in practice have restricted the provincial priesthood to men of wealth.[153] As public demonstrations of the kind suggested by *studiis* seem to have taken place in the theatre or amphitheatre,[154] it seems a reasonable possibility that it will have been the splendour and quality of the games he put on as provincial priest that aroused support for his adlection to the *ordo* of the provincial capital. Nothing further of the text is preserved but it is difficult to think that our unknown priest at Bosa could have been adlected a permanent member of the *ordo Karalitanorum* without the permission of the provincial council, as recorded in the Cornus text. It may be tentatively suggested, therefore, that following *s*[*t*]*udiis* [*populi* ? ... the text might originally have read *ex consensu prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*, not that the consent of the provincial council must necessarily have been recorded. On this analysis the text would have read:

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[150] So Boninu–Zucca (1992–94) 69; Gasperini (1992) 301; Mastino (1992–93) 119; *EAA* 1, 722–3 (Mastino).

[151] Noted independently by G. Di Vita-Evrard.

[152] Mastino (1978) 59 gives *siv* [...]; Boninu–Zucca (1992–94) 69 read ... *Ka*| [*ralit(anorum)*]+++[—]*siv*+++s[—] | ....].

[153] Abbot–Johnson (1926) 166, 169, citing *CIL* 6, 1736: A.D. 376 (= *ILS* 1256); Deininger (1965) 151–2, 159–61; Vol. II, 1, 574–84, especially 579–60 with Pl. LXXXVIa-b.

[154] See, for example, *CIL* 3, 289: *postu(latione) pop(uli) in theatro.*

> [... *sac(erdos)*] | *Urb(is) Rom(ae), flam(en) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae), ad* | [*le*]*c*-[*t*]*u*[*s ab*] *splendidiss(imo)* [*o*]*rd(ine) Ka* | [*ralit(anorum)?* ...] *s*[*t*]*udiis* [*populi ex consensu prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)?*

ii. The Provincial Cult

There seems sound reason to hold, then, that the provincial cult of Sardinia was regulated along lines similar to those that applied in Narbonensis as well as in a whole range of other provinces. When exactly these provisions were introduced is not directly in evidence but everything suggests that they date here as elsewhere from the Flavian era, quite possibly the reign of Vespasian. This conclusion looks strongly supported by what little evidence survives on the nature of the cult. The only priestly title that reveals the content of the worship is that of Q. Gabinius Receptus, who is recorded at Carales to have served as *flamen Divor(um) Aug(ustorum)*, a title that corresponds to the commonest formula of the provincial priest in Hispania citerior and Baetica in particular. As is clear in all provinces, this indicates a cult of the collective *Augusti*, just as the combination of the living emperor with the deified dead is equally attested by the formula *flamen Augustalis / Augustorum*, either of which can be supplied in the provincial charter of Narbonensis (line 21) or in either of two records of the provincial priests of Africa Proconsularis, for example (above, p. 131). The condensed title *flam(en) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*, apparently recorded at Bosa, would likewise be paralleled in Narbonensis and other provinces where a provincial cult was installed or regulated under the same dynasty. What is striking in Sardinia, however, is that the priestly formula evidently changed to *sacerdos* at some stage, as evidenced by the term *sacerdotalis* attested by the Sulci and Cornus inscriptions. Whether this new terminology was historically significant for the development of the worship will require analysis in the context of provincial cult in the Antonine era, the period when the change in title evidently took place (below, p. 194).

Alpes Cottiae and Alpes Maritimae

A single record of the priesthood of the Cottian Alps has survived, an inscription at Segusio honouring T. Cassius Sectinus, whose title *flamen Aug. provinciae* [*C*]*ottianae* does at least give some indication of the content of the cult (*CIL* 2, 7259). An expansion in the singular looks most unlikely since *sacerdos* is the regular title in provincial cults that focus on the living emperor with or without Roma, but whether one completes *Aug(ustalis)* or *Aug(ustorum)* a collective cult of the living emperor with deified *Augusti* is plainly indicated. There is nothing to show when the cult was founded but the content of the worship could point to a Flavian institution as in the neighbouring province of Gallia Narbonensis. In contrast the Maritime Alps have produced records of four provincial priests, all of them set up privately.[155] In three instances only the title *flamen provinc(iae) Alp(ium) Mar(itimarum)* or similar is preserved but a text at Ebrodunum gives the formula *flam(en) Aug. provinc(iae) Alp(ium) Mar(itimarum)* (*CIL* 12, 81). This parallels the formula in the Cottian Alps and with the same possible expansions points to a similar cult, again conceivably instituted in the Flavian period.

Arae Flaviae

A passing reference in Ptolemy's mid-second-century *Geographia* places a settlement known as Βωμοὶ Φλάουιοι in the fourth climate of Germany (2, 11, 15).[156] Details of the site are lacking but the monumental form of an altar points to a cult centre and there seems no reason to doubt the standard assumption that the plural *Flaviae* refers to Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian. If this interpretation is correct, these Flavian altars, located near modern Rottweil at the strategic headquarters of military operations in the Black Forest *ca.* A.D. 74,[157] will have provided the nodal point for the worship of the imperial house in the newly won Agri Decumates of south-west Germany. While no trace of a priest of the cult has survived, the centre looks otherwise to be closely in line with regional foundations of the Augustan period, notably the *arae Sestianae* in north-west Spain, where the plural form parallels the *arae Flaviae*, and the *ara Ubiorum* by Cologne, which was similarly linked with the headquarters of military operations and likewise gave its name to a permanent settlement (above, pp. 6–9, 20–1). Other comparable centres include a reported temple(?) established by Drusus among the Lingones in 9 B.C. and the altar erected by L. Domitius Ahenobarbus on the Elbe *ca.* 2 B.C. (above, pp. 22–3). What look to be similar regional institutions, possibly of Flavian origin, occur in Dalmatia, while later altars served as the focus of a provincial cult in Dacia and the Pannonian provinces (below, pp. 148–9, 177–80). But only at Rottweil are the focal monuments identified by the name of the dynasty which occupied the throne.

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[155] Vol. III, 2, 251–3.

[156] For earlier discussion see Deininger (1965) 112, n. 8 with refs.; Vol. I, 2, 298. In the Tabula Peutingeriana, a road map of the later fourth century, a locality between Vindonissa and Sumelocenna-Rottenburg is identified as *aris flavis* (Segment 3, 5). See Rüsch (1976) 563 with n. 13 and ref.

[157] For the series of forts constructed at the intersection of the road from Strasbourg to the Danube with that from Vindonissa see Rüsch (1976) 565–74 with overview of the archaeological remains and plan of the settlement (Abb. 2). While no trace of altars survives, the outlines of three temples, two small and one larger, have been confirmed on the south-east edge of the settlement (584–5).

The common feature of these altars, whether at the regional or provincial level, is that so far as one can tell from the sources all served the worship of the living emperor, with or without Roma, the cult itself being in every case tended by a *sacerdos*. Cults of the deified emperor in contrast were regularly associated with a temple and tended by a *flamen*—or at least that is the case wherever the provincial worship was addressed to a deified emperor or included deified personages *ab initio*. This distinction certainly holds in Hither Spain and Lusitania, apparently also in Britannia, where the provincial cult may originally have been based on a altar served by a *sacerdos* before the temple of Divus Claudius was constructed following the death and deification of Claudius (above, pp. 89–91). Similarly in the Three Gauls a temple serving the *divi* appears to have been built following the extension of the cult of Roma and Augustus to include deified emperors in the aftermath of Hadrian's visit in A.D. 121.[158] Of interest in Tres Galliae (perhaps also in Britannia?) is that the original priestly title *sacerdos* was retained even after the cult was expanded to include the *divi*,[159] whereas in Hispania Citerior the term *flamen* remained in place despite later modification of the worship to include Roma and the living emperor.[160] Terminology apart, however, the central fact remains that in provincial cult a temple was the focal point of worship addressed to the deified dead,[161] an altar that of the living emperor.[162] In regional cult, in contrast, one finds only an altar serving in all cases the reigning monarch.

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[158] Vol. I, 2, pp. 308–16.

[159] For a list of priests of Tres Galliae see Vol. III, 2, 60–8.

[160] Vol. I, 2, 269–77. For a list of priests of Hither Spain see Vol. III, 2, 104–23.

These considerations bear directly on the date and cultic significance of the *arae Flaviae* at Rottweil. If an altar is the monument appropriate to the cult of the living Augustus, then the *arae Flaviae* cannnot have been erected under Titus, since Vespasian would have been *divus* by this stage, still less under Domitian at a time when Titus also had been deified. This consideration rules out, in particular, the contrary opinion of J.-M. Pailler: "Le pluriel indiquerait une dèdicace collectife aux Flaviens, ce qui peut faire penser à Domitien plutôt qu'à Vespasian ou Titus".[163] The altars can only have been set up by Vespasian, who included monuments for his two sons as well as for himself. To establish a cult centre that included the heir(s) to the throne is unusual but something of the sort seems to be attested at Braga in north-west Spain, where a priest of the *conventus* of Bracara Augusta is recorded as *sacerdos* [*Ro*]*mae Aug(usti) Caesa*[*rum*?] (*CIL* 2, 2426), very possibly a reference to Titus and Domitian along with Roma and Vespasian.[164] Similarly a group of inscriptions from Anticaria attests a *pontufex* (sic) *Caesarum* (*CIL* 2, 2038–40), presumably a reference to the imperial house, the *stirps Caesarum*.[165] At Lugdunum, in contrast, the cult of the Caesar(s) at the altar refers to the living emperor, not his heirs.[166] The need to focus on the heirs to the throne is likewise reflected in the plural *Flaviae*, which we have seen to be a form of designation without parallel among all known altars that served regional or for that matter provincial cults. In this respect the Flavian title of the altars in the Agri Decumates chimes with deliberate attempts of the dynasty to project its own image in other ways (above, p. 96). It need hardly be added that an early Flavian regional foundation in the Agri Decumates is entirely consistent with developments at the provincial level in other provinces.

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[161] The sole exception to this generalization, at least in the Latin west, occurs at Lugdunum, where an inscription known only from the manuscript tradition records a *sacerdos ad aram Romae et Augustor(um)* (*CIL* 13, 1718).

[162] For a developed version of this basic thesis see below, pp. 220–9.

[163] *Id.* (1989) 182.

[164] Tranoy (1981) 329–30.

[165] Étienne (1958) 200, 234–5.; Vol. I, 2, 328 with n. 53. The three texts fall within the period A.D. 14–23.

[166] Vol. I, 2, 326–33.

As for the nature of the regional cult at Arae Flaviae, one might turn in the first place to north-west Spain, where the cult of Roma and Augustus at the level of the *conventus*, created under Vespasian in an administrative reorganization of the region, appears to be likewise Flavian in origin.[167] Whether Roma was similarly worshipped alongside the living emperor in the Agri Decumates is very uncertain. The inclusion of the goddess in north-west, also in Hither Spain (above), certainly points in that direction, but the picture is complicated by the conjectural attribution of the (presumably) three altars. It is surely unlikely that Vespasian, Titus and Domitian each had his own monument; certainly there is no evidence elsewhere for the association of Roma with the heir to the throne in a separate, individual cult. The likeliest combination, one would have thought, is that every altar will have been dedicated to Roma, the living Augustus and the Caesares (Titus and Domitian), as suggested by the inscription of [Ca]malus, son of Melg[aecus], at Braga (above). But that is speculation. With no hard evidence to go on, it seems safest to conclude simply that the Arae Flaviae were a centre for the worship of Vespasian and his sons in southern Germany and that this marked a return to the tradition of similar regional cult centres established under the early Augustan principate.[168] The possible inclusion of Roma in the cult and the precise dedication of the individual altars are problems that must await resolution on the appearance of new evidence.

Dalmatia

That similar centres to the *arae Flauiae* were instituted under the Flavians in Dalmatia is possible, though without confirmation in the sources.[169] What must be a regional cult rather than the provincial worship of Dalmatia was centred on the administrative centre of Scardona in southern Liburnia, where a *sacerdos* served an *ara Aug(usti) Lib[urn(orum)]* (*CIL* 3, 2810 + *ILIug* 199). Similarly at Senia a base set up to Liber Pater records that L. Gavius Optatus, member of a dominant group of families composed of settlers largely from northern Italy, served as *sac(erdos) Liburnor(um)* and restored a temple in memory of his mother (*ILIug* 247).[170] Likewise Doclea looks to have been a second centre of a local cult in south-east Dalmatia tended by a *sacerd(os) at* (sic) *a[r]am Caesar(i)s* (*CIL* 3, 13827).[171] It has been suggested that the centre in Liburnia may go back to the Augustan period,[172] yet Scardona did not become a *municipium* until Flavian times (cf. *CIL* 3, 2802) and the same objection applies in the case of the municipality of Doclea.[173] At the opposite extreme the letter forms of the Senia text look Hadrianic, but the Antonine period seems late for the institution of regional cults, especially if a provincial cult of Dalmatia dates from this era (below, pp. 180–1). Analogy with the Vespasianic foundations in the Agri Decumates and north-west Spain suggests the alternative possibility that these regional cults in Dalmatia may likewise be Flavian in origin. Whether in that case Roma was not included or had simply dropped out by the Antonine period can hardly be said. Plainly, new evidence will be needed before a firmer dating comes within reach.

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[167] Étienne (1958) 177–89, 453 with list of *sacerdotes*; Tranoy (1981) 329–31; Vol. I, 2, 298 with n. 29 and refs. For the problematic inclusion of Urbs Roma in the sacerdotal title of L.(?) Pompeius Faventinus see Vol. I, 2, 353–60, arguing that the term refers to the priesthood of Urbs Roma Aeterna rather than a conventual office.

[168] See further Fishwick, *Arae* (2002) forthcoming.

[169] For earlier discussion see Deininger (1965) 116; Fishwick (1978) 1224–5, 1234; Vol. I, 2, 299, n. 34; 302 with n. 14.

Tres Galliae

If we turn next from new foundations to existing provincial cults, two priesthoods of the Three Gauls are dated to the middle of Vespasian's reign, seven others to the period from Vespasian down to about the time of Hadrian.[174] As the form Tres Galliae occurs on several occasions in priestly titles of this era,[175] there can be little doubt that this had by now become the established term in place of the old Republican name Gallia Comata (above, p. 92). It was originally proposed by L. Maurin that the new emphasis on the tripartite division of the region is consistent with some sort of administrative reform at the outset of the Flavian era.[176] One might add in amplification of this observation that a formal change can also be perceived in the manner of referring to the Confluence. Under the Julio-Claudians two of the three priestly titles we have define the priesthood as *ad aram quae est ad confluentem* or simply *ad confluentem* (*ILA* 7, 18), whereas from now onwards the plural becomes the rule—... *ad confluentes Araris et Rhodani* or *inter confluentes Araris et Rhodani*—whenever the rivers are mentioned (*CIL* 13, 1674, 3144 *et passim*). In itself this might seem a small variation in comparison with the new insistance on Tres Galliae, yet it reinforces the impression of an administrative reform which has left its traces in modified formulae.

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[170] Wilkes (1969) 200 with n. 7.

[171] Wilkes (1969) 166, 260. On the importance of Scardona and Doclea see Levick (1999) 140.

[172] Kornemann (1901) 121, cf. Wilkes (1969) 218. Nothing goes to show that Epidaurum was an early centre of the imperial cult in Dalmatia. The inscription honouring the governor P. Cornelius Dolabella set up by the *civitates superioris provinciae Hillyrici* soon after A.D. 9 (*CIL* 3, 1741) looks like an isolated communal action rather than evidence for the existence of a provincial council: so rightly Deininger (1965) 26, 116. Cf. similar initiatives in Baetica: *CIL* 6, 31267 (= *ILS* 103), 2 B.C./A.D. 14; Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37, 1: A.D. 25. *Contra* Wilkes (1969) 253 with n. 7.

[173] *RE* 5, 1 (1903) 1252 (Patsch); Wilkes (1969) 218 with refs., 166, 260.

[174] Vol. III, 2, 61–3: nos. 4–5; 6–12.

[175] *CIL* 13, 1675, 1713, 1700; *AE* (1980) 635a.

i. A Flavian Regulation at the Federal Sanctuary ?

In part political considerations may have dictated a change at a centre that had welcomed the forces of Vitellius.[177] More significant in the context of the present discussion, however, is that the epigraphical practice reflected in two priestly records at Lugdunum shows distinct affinities to one of the regulations of the Lex Narbonensis.

The first of these is a dedication to a god whose name is lost and to Mars Segomo by the federal priest Q. Adginnius Martinus:

> ... *et Ma*]*rti Segomonti sacrum* | [*ex stirpe*] *annua* | [*Q. Adginnius Ur*]*bici fil(ius) Martinus* | [*Sequanus sac*]*erdos Romae et Aug(usti)* | [*creatus(?) M. Ner*]*atio Pansa co(n)s(ule)* | [*flamen iivir in c*]*ivitate Sequanorum* | [*cui Tres Provincia*]*e Galliae honores* | [*omnes(?) impensis*] *suis decreverunt.*
>
> (*CIL* 13, 1675, cf. 1674)[178]

This is not an honorific text inscribed on a statue base but Adginnius records that the Three Gauls, that is the federal council, has decreed him honours. Significantly, the partly restored wording [*cui Tres Provincia*]*e Galliae honores* | [*omnes*? *impensis*] *suis decreverunt* (lines 7–8) closely resembles the formula employed in honorific texts to provincial priests at Corduba, where the prescription of the Lex Narbonensis looks to have been followed almost to the letter (above, pp. 119–25). The similarity would be closer still if Hirschfeld's restoration were emended to read, for example, ... *honores* | [*maximos impensis*] *suis decreverunt*, as looks perfectly possible.[179] Whatever the original text may have been, it is difficult to see how these honours can have failed to include some form of honorific statue for which the priest himself paid.[180]

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[176] Maurin (1986) 112.

[177] In the same way the massive building programme that got under way in the Flavian period at the provincial centre of Tarraco put a new imperial stamp on a centre that had supported Galba: Vol. III, 3, 11–39. Even more obviously, the Severan reform of the provincial cult at Lugdunum was clearly a reaction to the support that Lugdunum had given to Clodius Albinus: Vol. I, 2, 347–9.

[178] Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 250–2.

More to the point, the priesthood of Adginnius Martinus is dated in *CIL* 13, 1675, line 5 by the consulship of Neratius Pansa. Before the consul's name Hirschfeld restored *creatus*, whereas Groag subsequently proposed *accensus*, a completion that has been accepted without objection by all subsequent commentators. A moment's consideration suggests this is most improbable. An *accensus* was an *apparitor* or orderly of a Roman magistrate, so in practice a low-level subordinate.[181] It is well-nigh impossible, therefore, to suppose that after a distinguished career in his native *civitas* Adginnius Martinus would have held so inferior a position and that in immediate succession to this he could have been elected to the priesthood of the Three Gauls, the most prestigious office that a native Gaul could attain in the entire province.[182] In that perspective Hirschfeld's *creatus* is preferable. The problem with this restitution is that, in a consular dating, all analogy requires that a second consulship should be combined with that of Neratius Pansa.[183] It may therefore be proposed that by far the likeliest completion is to restore the name of a joint consul at the beginning of line 5, where to judge from line 6 or line 7 approximately 18 letter spaces would be available.

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[179] To read *honores* [*maximos* ... , as suggested by *CIL* $2^2/7$, 291, 293, 295 (Corduba; above, pp. 119–20), would give 16 rather than 14 letter spaces in line 8, so match more closely the 18 letter spaces of the comparable break in line 7. See further Vol. I, 2, 219–21.

[180] If the monument portrayed family members alongside the priest himself, a Flavian example of which looks to occur in *CIL* 13, 1713 (below, p. 153), the costs of raising a memorial to his own glory will surely have been supported by the honoree. Even if Adginnius was honoured with an individual statue, as rarely the case at Lugdunum, the provincial council can hardly have drawn on the *stips annua*, its only known source of revenue (below, pp. 154–5), as the proceeds of this were evidently used for religious purposes (cf. *CIL* 13, 1675, line 2), just as similar funds were used at Narbo for statues and busts (*CIL* 12, 6038, lines 26–7). Besides, it is difficult to think the *civitates* would have contributed towards statues honouring provincial priests, a distinction that no-one from their own *civitas* might ever attain. Against this background, therefore, it seems clear that *suis* refers notionally, if ungrammatically, to the remote subject Q. Adginnius Martinus rather than to the adjacent subject Tres Galliae. For the ungrammatical use of *suis* for *eius* cf. *CIL* 13, 3162 with Hirschfeld's comment (p. 500) *ad* 1, line 28: *primo umquam in sua civitate posuerunt*.

[181] On *accensus* see Millar (1977) 68–9.

[182] Cf. Deininger (1965) 126, citing Pliny's comment on the reputation of the council of Hither Spain: *scis quod iudicium provinciae illius, quantum sit gravitas* (*Ep.* 2, 13, 4).

[183] Acutely noted by G. Di Vita-Évrard.

The career of M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa has been the subject of protracted discussion that seems finally to have settled on assigning his consulship to A.D. 73 or 74.[184] Evidently the name of one of the consuls from either of these years is to be supplied in line 5, therefore.[185] As the consular dating could hardly have stood alone without some verbal form, it may be suggested that in line 4 the (restored) ethnic qualification was abbreviated to *Seq.*—as in *CIL* 13, 1674, line 3—after which followed the participle before *sacerdos*: perhaps, then, [*Seq. creatus*? *sac*]*erdos Romae et Aug.*.[186] This would leave 15 letter spaces before the left-hand break in line 5 compared with 14 in line 4, in both cases exclusive of *interpunctiones*. The identity of the consul whose name is to be supplied at the beginning of line 5 can only be surmised but in view of the length of the line both he and Neratius Pansa could well have lacked the *praenomen*: for example, [... *et Ner*]*atio Pansa co(n)s(ulibus)*. If the consulship of Pansa fell in A.D. 73, then the two might well have been *ordinarii* as the only names we have for this year are those of the *suffecti, Caesar Domitianus II, L. Valerius Catullus Messallinus*;[187] in that case the entire year of the flaminate of Adginnius Martinus would be indicated.[188] If, however, Pansa served as consul in A.D. 74, then he and his co-consul will have been *suffecti* as the *ordinarii* of the year were *Imp. Vespasianus V, Titus Caesar III*;[189] on this view, not the year's term of Adginnius but the time of his appointment might be indicated.[190] Either possibility would fit *creatus* or a synonym, but the point can hardly be pressed as it rests upon a hypothetical restoration, the restitution of a supposed participle. Whatever the facts of the matter, it seems clear that in one way or another the priesthood of Adginnius Martinus at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls is dated by consuls, exactly as laid down in the Narbonese law (line 12).

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[184] For an overview of the discussion see *PIR*^{2} 5, 345–8, N 56 at 346. W. Eck in *RE* Suppl. 14 (1974) 283–6 prefers A.D. 74.

[185] See Degrassi (1952) 21, cf. 23, placing the consulship before A.D. 79.

[186] For a similar construction cf. *ILS* 2118: ... *factus miles in ead. cohorte Domitiano II cos.* ... (A.D. 73). Kindly suggested by W. Eck.

[187] Degrassi (1952) 21.

[188] As, for example, in two inscriptions at Corduba, where the honoree is stated to have completed his term or to have been honoured at the close of his term in a year defined by *ordinarii*: *CIL* 2^2/7, 293, 295. For the texts see above, p. 120.

[189] Degrassi (1952) *ibid.*

[190] As in *CIL* 2^2/7, 799 at Mellaria. For the text see above, p. 123.

Similar evidence is provided by a lost inscription at Lugdunum, known only from the wording variously recorded in the manuscript tradition. Fragmentary as it is, the text is very uncertain though plainly appropriate to a provincial priest. A. Allmer and P. Dissard, repeated by Hirschfeld,[191] suggest:

> *....? Ma*]*gno ... anno sex*[*to imp. Caes. Ve*]*spasiani* [*Aug.*]—*August*[*o n(ostro)?*]
> *VI Tit*[*o*] *imp. Aug. f.* [*IIII cos. tres provincia*]*e Gallia*[*e*] (*CIL* 13, 1713)

Whatever the merits of the proposed version with its various restorations, two elements are of central interest to the present discussion: what looks very much like a precise dating by consuls—Hirschfeld suggests a reference to Vespasian and Titus, the *ordinarii* of A.D. 75[192]—and the name of the dedicator Tres Galliae, part of which was apparently inscribed at the foot in the nominative case (line 6). To all appearances, then, this defective text belongs to an honorific record set up to a federal priest by the provincial council of Tres Galliae, the name of which will have run along one or more adjoining stones.[193] If so, this is an early example, the earliest to have been preserved in fact, of a form of memorial which became common in the second century and later.[194] By this kind of monument not only was the incumbent priest honoured but also the members of his family, all on a common base along which runs, as a rule, the name of the dedicator in oversize letters, usually Tres Galliae. Whether this might have been the case here is unclear; the manuscript version shows letters of equal height throughout but this is hardly decisive as such a feature might not have been recorded in the original transcription. The key point for present purposes is that we look to have definite evidence here for a group memorial to a priest with an honorific inscription which includes a dating by consuls in the early Flavian period. That this refers to the priesthood is not self-apparent but there seems to be no parallel to suggest, say, that the date refers to the erection of the statue by the Three Gauls. To all appearances, therefore, *CIL* 13, 1713 constitutes important corroborative evidence for the interpretation placed on *CIL* 13, 1675 in providing a second example of the same peculiarities.

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[191] Hirschfeld *ad CIL* 13, 1713, citing Allmer–Dissard (1889–1893) 1, 49. For discussion see Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 252–3 with reproduction of the facsimile in the Corpus.

[192] Degrassi (1952) 22. For a parallel see *CIL* 2, 5217a, b: ... *ann(o) IIII imp. eius* (sc. *Vespasiani*); A.D. 73.

[193] Cf. Hirschfeld's commentary *loc. cit.*: videtur igitur v. 6 per complures lapides continuatus fuisse, ut factum est in compluribus titulis ad aram positis.

[194] Vol. III, 2, 20–5.

What seems to be preserved at Lugdunum, then, are two epigraphical texts that record the date of a priestly tenure by consulships. One of these refers to the conferral by the province of honours that look to include an honorific statue, while the other may well be an official text set up by the council of Tres Galliae. It looks well within the bounds of possibility, therefore, that regulations similar to those at Narbo were prescribed at Lugdunum. The various features of these two records are of particular interest for the fact that by the age of Hadrian, when evidence for provincial priests proliferates at the federal sanctuary, no further instance occurs of the use of a consular dating nor do we find later instances of a similar formula to register provincial honours.[195] The Flavian practice plainly diverges, therefore, from subsequent usage.

ii. *Stips annua*

The inscription of G. Adginnius Martinus (*CIL* 13, 1675) records that he has set up his dedication to an unknown god and Mars Segomo *ex stipe*] *annua* (line 2).[196] We have no evidence before the Flavian period for the existence of an annual contribution paid in this or any other province of the west; that none existed in Britain, for instance, looks corroborated by the circumstance that levies imposed *ad hoc* by imperial priests to support construction of the temple at Camulodunum were a principal cause of the great rebellion in A.D. 60 (Tac., *Ann.* 14, 31).[197] In the same way slow and halting progress on construction of the provincial temple of Hither Spain at Tarraco (above, p. 52) may be ascribable in part to the problem of collecting payments towards its construction,[198] a difficulty that would imply in turn the absence of any regular income. Now for the first time anywhere in the Latin west we have evidence in Tres Galliae for an annual levy.[199] In light of the sweeping administrative measures that are evidently to be inferred at the sanctuary in the early years of Vespasian's reign, everything suggests that the institution of a *stips annua* was part and parcel of the same reform. Such an innovation would certainly be in keeping with the penny-pinching mentality of an emperor who was himself the son of a tax-collector and not averse to tapping less savoury sources of revenue.

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[195] Vol. III, 2, 19–20.

[196] For the (certain) restoration see *CIL* 13, 1669.

[197] Vol. I, 2, 216. See further above, pp. 77-8.

[198] See further Fishwick, Tarraco (1996) 180; *id.*, Temple of Augustus (1999) 135.

[199] Larsen (1955) 143–4; Rives (1995) 88–9, noting that in some eastern provinces member cities of the assembly likewise contributed on a regular basis.

If a compulsory subscription was instituted under Vespasian, it seems reasonable to infer in turn that its proceeds will have been paid into the federal chest (*arca*), the existence of which is plainly attested by the posts of *iudex arcae Galliarum, allectus arcae Galliarum* and *inquisitor Galliarum.* Epigraphical evidence for these enigmatic officials must be considered in detail later.[200] For the moment it may be observed that if the levy dates from the early Flavian period, so also may the origin of these federal "civil servants", whose functions point to financial arrangements that formed part of the same general reorganization of the provincial cult of Tres Galliae early under the new dynasty.

iii. The Provincial Cult

Neither the new regulations relating to the federal priest nor the new arrangements that governed finances have any bearing on the content of the federal cult. Records of the two certainly Flavian priesthoods and the seven more that possibly belong to the period give no indication of any change in the worship. In fact only the inscriptions of Q. Adginnius Martinus record that the priest continued to serve Roma and Augustus at the altar by the Confluence. The title of the *ignotus* whose term fell *ca.* A.D. 75 has not survived in the tralatician versions of the text and the remaining seven records dated in the period from Vespasian to Hadrian preserve only the word *sacerdos* or a reference to the altar (*arensis*). Slight as it is, the evidence nevertheless gives every reason to conclude that the federal cult of Tres Galliae retained its original form down to the time of Hadrian's passage through the Three Gauls in A.D. 121 (below, pp. 182–3).

A radically different interpretatiom has recently been proposed by M. Clauss, who considers it "selbsverständlich" that following his consecration Divus Augustus will have been worshipped at the altar "neben der neuen lebenden Gottheit Tiberius und neben Roma".[201] Thereafter he would exclude any notion of change or development in the content of the worship. The varying titles of the provincial priests of Tres Galliae have given rise, he argues, to unfounded speculations on the evolution of the cult. In reality the wide spectrum of the sacerdotal titulature is to be explained not by alleged development in the content of the worship but by the freedom with which different dedicators used differing formulae to describe one and the same cult—precisely as with the priestly titles at Tarraco.

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[200] Vol. III, 2, 46–55.

[201] *Id.*, (1999) 397–9; cf. in general Le Roux (1994) 401.

Two points, both interconnected, require emphasis here. In the first place it is clear from the inscriptions of Q. Adginnius Martinus that at least in the early Flavian period the altar still served the cult of Roma and Augustus; there is no hint in these texts of the cult of the *divi*. At Tarraco, in contrast, the title of the provincial *flamen* with its references to Roma, the living emperor, and the consecrated deceased exists in various versions from the time epigraphical evidence begins at the outset of the Flavian period; variations in the titles here are ascribable to capricious abbreviations more often on the part of communities and individuals than of the provincial council itself.[202] Secondly, firmly dated records in the Three Gauls show not only that the cult retained its original form down to at least the Flavian period (above) but also that the altar regained it old status as the principal monument, serving now the cult of the Caesar(s)—plainly the living emperor(s)—in the Severan period.[203] In the interval came construction of the provincial temple, evidently in connection with the expansion of the federal cult to include the *divi / divae*. That both these developments should be assigned to the reign of Hadrian is less certain but combined arguments based on a variety of considerations add up to a compelling case.[204] In any event the notion of a uniform federal cult attested from the reign of Tiberius by differently worded priestly formulae can be safely discounted.

Hispania citerior

Until the beginning of the Flavian era no epigraphical traces throw light on the provincial cult of Hither Spain. Whatever the reason for that (above, pp. 52–3), the record of annual priesthoods begins suddenly *ca.* A.D. 70 and continues down to the last decades of the second century, when evidence fades out.[205] During this period the tenures of seventy-six priests and eleven or so priestesses are documented, the

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[202] Alföldy (1973) 46–9. See further below, p. 164.
[203] Vol. I, 2, 317–50. See further below, pp. 201–2.
[204] Vol. I, 2, 308–16; below, pp. 182–5.
[205] For a list of priests see Vol. III, 2, 104–23.

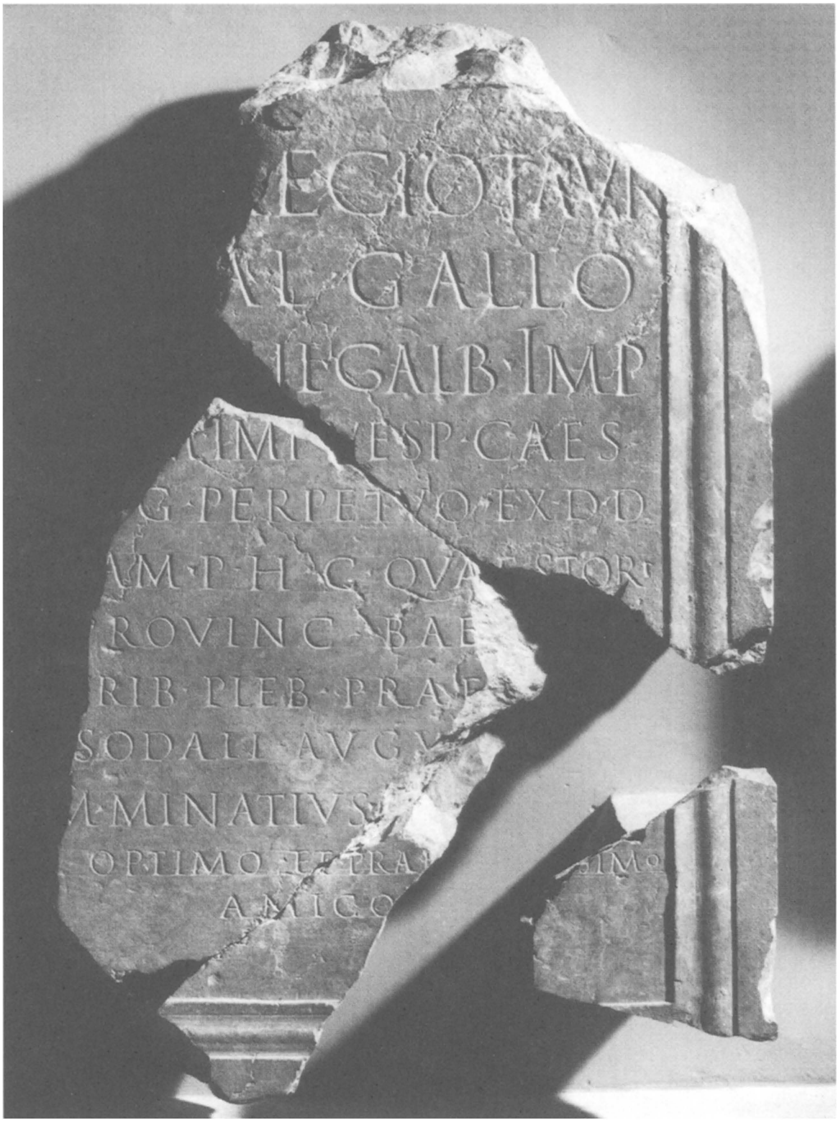
ECIO TAVR
AL GALLO
LEG AVG IMP
IMP VESP·CAES
G·PERPETVO·EX·D·D
AM·P·H·C·QVAESTOR
ROVINC·BAE
RIB·PLEB·PRA
SODALI AVG
M·MINATIVS
OPTIMO ET TRA IMO
AMICO

Plate 18. Inscription of Raecius Gallus.

earliest that of Raecius Gallus, who served about A.D. 72/73 (*RIT* 145, Pl. 18).[206] Another five priests are definitely dated under the Flavians with perhaps ten others that fall somewhere in the period from Vespasian to Hadrian; two, perhaps three, priestesses are Flavian.

i. Flavian Regulations at Tarraco

The basic feature of the epigraphical record at Tarraco is that the bulk of the evidence consists of the inscribed bases of statues that the *concilium* of Hispania citerior set up in honour of past provincial priests on completion of office; the statues themselves have disappeared *in toto* but many of their pedestals survive, presumably because these made good building material. A special area, where these honorific statues stood, possibly in rows, seems to have been set aside for this purpose on the middle terrace of the provincial centre, construction of which was pressed ahead under the new dynasty.[207] As the practice of honouring a priest with a statue corresponds with a provision to that effect in the Flavian Lex Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 11–13), it seems clear that a similar regulation was contemporaneously in operation in Hispania Citerior. That said, several differences are discernible at Tarraco from the directions laid down in the Narbonese law. In particular the Tarraco bases record the *cursus*, to which the Narbonese charter makes no reference, but do not date the term of the priest honoured. Also, the dedication is made by the provincial council whereas according to the Narbonese regulations the priest was to see to his own statue. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that at Tarraco as at Narbo, Corduba and doubtless Lugdunum the priest paid for his monument himself. Apart from these variations, however, the similarities of other details are such that much the same provisions must have been in force at both Narbo and Tarraco. No doubt provincial councils had leeway to use their own discretion and the new regulations were adapted to suit the requirements of a cult that had already been in existence over half a century. The very fact that in Hispania citerior as compared with, say, Baetica the provisions of the Narbonese law are more loosely followed tells in favour of the view that the provincial cult was founded earlier than the Flavian era.

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[206] Le Roux (1994) 399, finds it odd that Raecius Gallus is not recorded as *flamen primus p. H. c* although his flaminate dates from the beginnings of the reign of Vespasian. What relevance this has to the origins of the provincial cult of Hispania Citerior is difficult to see. Even if it could be shown on other grounds that the cult been instituted early under Vespasian, nothing goes to show that Raecius Gallus would have been chronologically first of all. In Proconsularis, for instance, the beginning of the era of the provincial cult dates from *ca* A.D. 70–2. For the likelihood that the cult of Hither Spain had in fact begun earlier see above, pp. 52–3.

[207] For the Flavian building programme at the provincial sanctuary of Hither Spain, including construction under Domitian of an adjoining circus appropriate for imperial celebrations, see Vol. III, 3, 11–43.

If one provision of the Lex Narbonensis was in operation at Tarraco, the possibility arises that others may also have been applicable. In this connection attention may be drawn to an inscription apparently engraved on a statue base now lost but found in the zone of the provincial forum, so to be grouped with other monuments to provincial priests that stood on the middle level of the sanctuary, the site of the provincial plaza:[208]

> [. —]*rio* | *Q(uinti)* [*fil(io) Gal(eria) (?) (tribu)*] *F̣us*[*c*]*o(?)* | *IIvir(o), flam(ini) Divi* | *Claudi, praef(ecto) orae* | *marit(imae),* | *flamini Divorum et* | *Augustor(um) p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris), provinc(ia)* | *Hispania citerior.*
>
> [*Or*]*do Tarraconens(ium)* | *honores decrevit.* | (*RIT* 316)

Inscribed by the province in honour of [...]rius Q. *f.* F̣uscus(?), *flamen Divorum et Augustor(um) p. H. c.*, the text is followed by an appendix after the name of the province as dedicator: [*Or*]*do Tarraconens(ium) honores decrevit.* In itself such a measure on the part of the town senate is unremarkable. Numerous other inscriptions found in various parts of the town similarly record honours or dedications decreed by the colony,[209] while on the provincial forum itself the colony dedicated *ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* a statue with inscribed base to C. Calpurnius Flaccus (*RIT* 264),[210] likewise to L. Fonteius Maternus Novatianus (*RIT* 279; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 34), whose base was found outside the forum from which it was probably removed. Neither of these mentions the council, nor does a base set up by the citizens of Tarraco to the provincial priestess Aurelia Marcellina, whose husband may have been *flamen*

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[208] Fishwick, Decree (1999) 291–5. Whereas earlier commentators assigned the inscription to the reign of Vespasian, Alföldy (1973) no. 73, cf. *RIT* 316, holds out the possibility of a date as late as A.D. 100/120, from which time the office of *praefectus orae maritimae* is no longer attested. I am very much indebted to W. Eck for helpful commentary and suggestions.

[209] *RIT* 278, 342; 86, 129, 145, 151, 156, 173, 343, 339?, 346, 347. Some of theses were found near the provincial forum (*RIT* 343), some on the lower colonial forum (*RIT* 86, 145, 173?), some in the early-Christian necropolis (*RIT* 156, 342, 347); others are of unknown origin (*RIT* 129, 151, 278, 339, 346).

[210] Alföldy (1973) 66–7, no. 13; Fishwick, Temple of Augustus (1999) 132–3.

provinciae (*RIT* 320); this was found in the temple precinct to which it looks to have been removed from the central terrace. It would appear, then, that the inscription of Fuscus(?) is unique among surviving records in attesting the attachment of a municipal decree to a dedication by the provincial council.

The combination raises two obvious questions. What were the *honores* decreed by the *ordo Tarraconensium* and why should these be mentioned as a rider to the dedication which the council inscribed below the honorific statue it set up to Fuscus(?). Comparison with other epigraphical texts at Tarraco might suggest as a first possibility the conferral of *honores aedilicii* (cf. *RIT* 278–9, 336, 343, 345), yet had this been the case these ought to appear at the beginning of the recorded *cursus*, before Fuscus(?) served as *duovir* and *flamen Divi Claudi*, not subsequently to the provincial flaminate, as his inscription seems to indicate. Nor is it easy to see why such an award, explicitly termed *aedilicii honores*, *honores aedilicii* or *ornamenta aedilicia* in other examples, should be mentioned in connection with an honorific statue set up by the provincial council. Otherwise the term *honores* appears in the standard formula *omnibus honoribus in re publica sua functus* (*RIT* pp. 506–7), a turn of phrase unconnected with the notice recorded in the appendix to the inscripion of Fuscus(?).

The decree of the Tarraco senate conferring honours that seem to supplement or cap the distinction of an honorific statue set up to Fuscus(?) by the provincial council becomes comprehensible if considered in light of the new regulations which were evidently introduced at the provincial centre of Hispania citerior in the early years of the Flavian era. As we have noted, if these were copied from the Lex Narbonensis or framed along similar lines, other provisions than the regulation on honorific statues will presumably have also been operative at the Tarraco provincial centre. Two clauses are of particular interest in the present context. It seems clear from the Narbo text, much restored though it is, that the provincial *flamen* will have resided at Narbo throughout his year and in his capacity as chairman of the provincial council have had a place on the local senate, possibly on a par with the town *duoviri*: that is, he will have been an honorary decurion (*CIL* 12, 6038, line 4: above, p. 152).[211] If a similar regulation applied at Tarraco and the chairman of the *concilium* of Hither Spain was a member of the local *ordo* at the colony of Tarraco, it is easy to see how a relevant decree of the *ordo Tarraconensium* could be appended to a dedication set up by the provincial council. A second regulation concerns the outgoing *flamen*. As provided in the Lex Narbonensis, he is to be a member of the local *ordo* of his *patria*, where he shall have the right to express his opinion (*ius sententiae dicendi*) and to vote (*ius signandi*), both in his own *curia* and in the provincial assembly, seated among (the men) of his rank (*ibid*: lines 13–16).[212] On the basis of these lines one can then restore the provision regarding the place of the provincial *flamen* on the local council of Narbo (line 4).

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[211] Williamson (1987) 181–2.

Could, then, either or both of these provisions lie behind the *honores* decreed by the *ordo Tarraconensium* in the case of Fuscus? The answer turns on the supposed *origo* of Fuscus(?). If he came from Tarraco as presently conjectured,[213] the second provision can hardly apply. For in that case he will surely have been a member of the local *ordo* at the time he served as *legatus* and attended the one or several meetings of the provincial council held at the provincial centre. During his term as provincial priest, when by similar regulations he will have served on the local senate of the city where the provincial centre was located, he presumably remained in theory an inactive member of his local *curia*, to which he returned with full privileges on conclusion of his mandate. But it so happens in the case of Fuscus(?) that the local senate on which he served as provincial priest will have been that of the provincial capital Tarraco—in practice his own local *curia* if Tarraco was his *patria*,. It follows that on this view he will have been a member of the *ordo Tarraconensium* before, during and after his provincial office, in which case the decree appended to the text on his honorific statue can hardly have conferred honours that he already possessed or rights he was already exercising. Nor can the reference be to a special rank in the local *ordo* of Tarraco as this is already laid down in the relevant provision of the Lex Narbonensis, a version of which was evidently operative in Hispania Citerior. The emphasis of the clause is on the right of the former *flamen* to speak and vote, whether in his own *curia* or at the provincial centre, *inter (homines) sui ordinis*, so the main difference in his position after having served as high priest of the province is that he now enjoyed a higher social rank than previously when he was an ordinary member of the local *ordo*.[214] Evidently election to the provincial priesthood brought a step up in society by admitting an ex-priest to the class recorded in Hispania citerior and Baetica as *viri flaminales*.[215] At all events a decree of the *ordo Tarraconensium* along these lines would have been unnecessary and superfluous.

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[212] Williamson, *o.c.* 185–6. For the full text of the Lex Narbonensis see Vol. III, 2, 3–5.

[213] Cf. Alföldy (1973) 92, no. 73: "Origo: Anscheinend aus Tarraco".

These difficulties disappear, however, if Fuscus(?) was in fact a native of somewhere other than Tarraco. Given the state of the second line of *RIT* 316, which would certainly have given his tribe, perhaps also his origin, this looks a distinct possibility. In that case the supplement to the honorific text set up by the provincial council could very well record admission to the *ordo Tarraconensium* of a past provincial priest from another community. For two key parallels one can turn to Sardinia, where inscriptions at Cornus (*CIL* 10, 7917, Pl. 16) and Bosa (*CIL* 10, 7940; Pl. 17)[216] record that a priest of the province has been "adlected" by the ordo of Carales—*adlecto ab splendidissimo ordine Karalitanorum*—that is, the local senate of the provincial capital, which accommodated the provincial centre and headquarters of the provincial council. In the Cornus text this is stated to have occurred with the consent of the province, and a similar phrase is possibly to be supplied in the missing section of the Bosa text. At Tarraco the terminology refers to the passing of the relevant decree—*ordo Tarraconensium honores decrevit*—rather than to its implementation, but in either case the reference is evidently to the same step, admission to the local order. There is no equivalent at Tarraco to the consent of the province, as certainly recorded at Cornus, but the very fact that the supplementary clause is appended to the text inscribed on the base of the honorific statue which the province has granted Fuscus(?) surely implies its agreement to the decree of the local *ordo*. Despite formal differences, then, the Tarraco inscription seems to provide an equivalent to the two texts from Sardinia, which record the adlection of past provincial priests, apparently originating from Cornus and Bosa respectively, to the local *ordo* of the provincial capital Carales. It might be added that other instances of admission to the *ordo* of Tarraco are attested by the regular *adlectus* formula.[217]

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[214] See in general Williamson (1987) 185–6. Further above, pp. 138–9.

[215] At Tarraco the statue of C. Valerius Arabinus was to be set up *inter flaminales viros* (*RIT* 333). For the term *pientiss(imus) vir flaminalis provinciae Baeticae* see *ERBC* 113, reading C. Varinius Pietas; cf. *CIL* $2^2/7$, 297: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 65; *CILA* 2/2, 343: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 68.

[216] For full discussion see above, pp. 135–44.

Why a former provincial priest should be admitted to the local *ordo* of Carales or Tarraco emerges from the first of the provisions of the Lex Narbonensis mentioned above. As lines 4–5 make clear, the current provincial priest will have been a temporary member of the municipal senate of the provincial capital during his term of one year. As such, he would have had the right to speak and vote, in particular on matters that concerned the interaction between the provincial council and the local *ordo*. What looks to have happened, therefore, at Tarraco as at Carales, is that once his term was completed (presumably) a provincial priest from elsewhere in the province has taken the opportunity to put on a permanent basis the membership of the prestigious *ordo* of the provincial capital which he had enjoyed during his mandate.[218] In all three cases the *ordo* has acceded to his wishes with the express or implied consent of the provincial council.

If this interpretation is correct, what the inscription of Fuscus(?) preserves is an indirect reflection of regulations like those of the Lex Narbonensis. As such, it provides invaluable confirmation that the inference we have drawn from the sudden appearance of honorific statues to provincial priests is in fact correct, namely that similar regulations to those of the Lex Narbonensis were in force at the provincial centre of Tarraco. The curious attachment of a municipal decree of Tarraco to a provincial dedication in honour of a provincial priest—an occurrence difficult, if not impossible, to explain on other grounds—looks comprehensible in the light of directives similar to those of the Lex Narbonensis. In that case the text is of outstanding significance in preserving a further echo of regulations, varying aspects of which one can identify in so many other provinces of the Western Roman empire.

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[217] See in particular *dec. Tarrac. adlectus* (RIT 172); *adlectus in ordine Tarracon.* (*RIT* 338); *decuri*[*o ad*]*lec*[*t*]. *in col. Ta*[*rrac.*] (*RIT* 339); cf. [*adlectus int*]*er quinqu*[*en*]*na*[*les ex dec*]*ret. ordini*[*s col.*] *Tarr*[*ac.*] (*RIT* 342). In each instance the *adlectus* formula belongs to a *cursus* within an inscription set up privately or by local authorities, and the same is true of the Cornus and Bosa texts. The different formulation in the case of Fuscus(?) is presumably to be explained by the circumstance that this an appendix to the text which the provincial council has placed on the statue base. It follows that Fuscus(?) will have been admitted to the *ordo Tarraconensium* following completion of his year's term as provincial *flamen*. On the admission of outsiders to a local *ordo* see Curchin (1990) 26, further Saquete (1997) 89.

[218] Fishwick, *Sacerdotalis* (1997) 454.

ii. The Provincial Cult

The unmistakable introduction of regulations comparable to those of the Lex Narbonensis along with the vast programme of construction undertaken at the provincial centre plainly reveals that the Flavian era was critical to the development of the provincial cult of Hither Spain. Our knowledge of the content of the worship itself rests solely upon the titles of provincial priests, which we have seen to begin suddenly following the accesssion of Vespasian. Two versions of the formula, a short form and a longer, are observable both in this period and later: *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris* and *flamen Romae, Divorum et Augustorum provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, both variously abbreviated.[219] No complete example of the full formula occurs before the time of Hadrian but condensed titles definitely attributable to the Flavian period include *flamen Augustorum provinc(iae) Hispaniae cit(erioris)* (*CIL* 2, 3329), *flamen Divorum Aug(ustorum) provinciae Hisp(aniae) cit(erioris)* (*RIT* 301), and *flamen Romae et Aug(ustorum) provinc(iae) Hispan(iae) citer(ioris)* (*RIT* 288). The circumstance that elements are omitted in some titles, more often but not always civic or private dedications, shows that as at Lugdunum there was no set title rigidly employed. Equally, it is clear that what varies is the priestly formula, not the content of the worship. In contrast to the historical development at the federal centre of Tres Galliae, where changes in the titles of the federal priests mirror the extension or modification of the cult at specific periods, it is clear that at Tarraco both Roma and the collective *Augusti* were included from the Flavian period.[220] Even when the abbreviation *Aug.* is used, contemporary usage confirms that the plural *Augustorum* is intended (cf. *CIL* 2, 3329, 4239). That the plural *Augustorum* included the living emperor with deified, deceased emperors has been demonstrated in detail earlier.[221]

The interesting question at this stage is whether or to what extent the content of the cult was now modified in comparison with its earlier form. With no earlier title available for purposes of comparison a definite answer in hardly possible. All that seems clear is that early under

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[219] For analysis in detail see Vol. III, 2, 85–6.

[220] Alföldy (1973) 46–9.

[221] Vol. I, 2, 269–77. Clauss (1999) 523–5, accepts the various possible meanings of *Augustorum* in the title of the provincial priest (*ibid.* 274–5.) but suggests the term could also include the living empress. This surely is impossible. For one thing the cult of deceased, deified females was evidently tended by a *flaminica* not a *flamen* (cf. *flaminica Divarum Augustarum splendidissimae provinciae Baeticae*: *AE*, 1972, 270–1). For another nothing shows that the living spouse of the emperor was included in provincial cult.

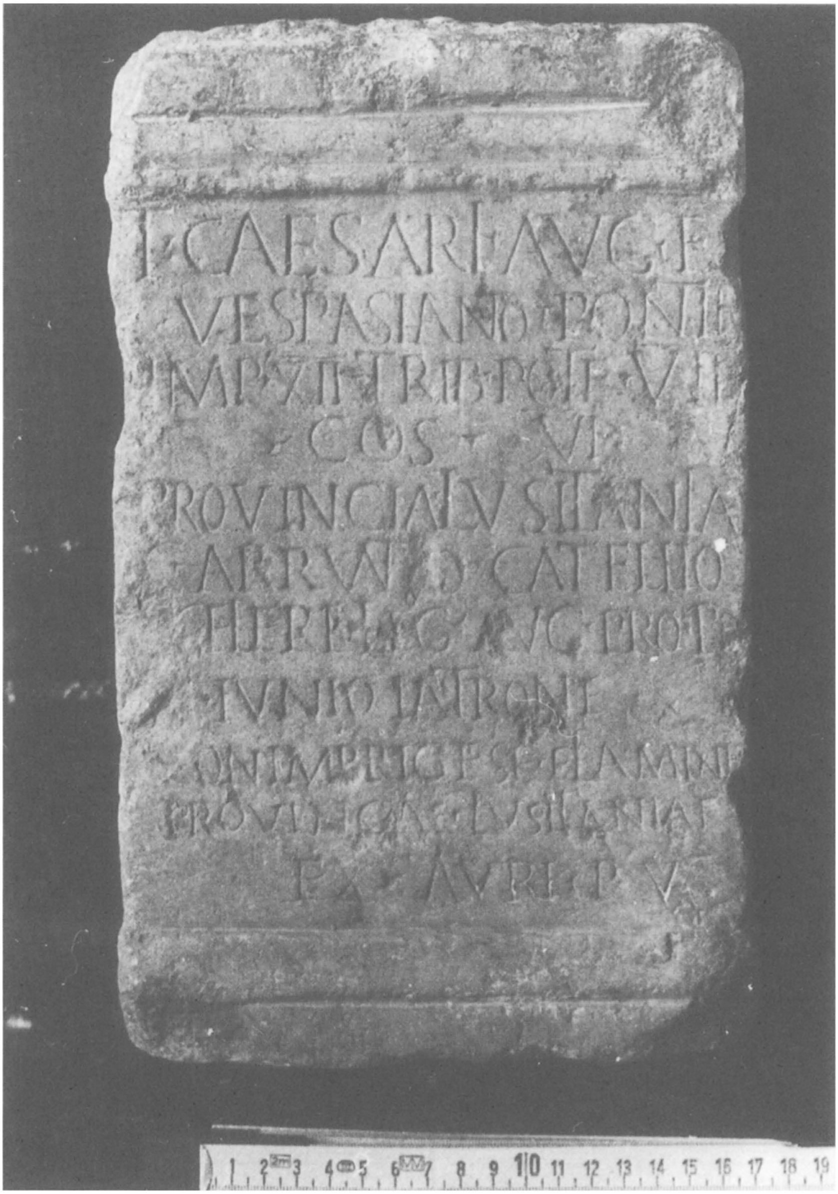
T·CAESARI·AVG·F
VESPASIANO·PONTIF
IMP·XII·TRIB·POT·VII
COS·VI
PROVINCIA·LVSITANIA
IVNIO·LATRONI
PROVINCIAE·LVSITANIAE
EX·AVRI·P·V

Plate 19. Inscription of Ṃ. Iunius Latro.

Tiberius permission was given to build a provincial temple to Divus Augustus and that in Lusitania a cult which to all appearances arose parallel to that of Hither Spain was addressed first to Divus Augustus followed in due course by Diva Augusta and presumably Divus Claudius (above, pp. 59–60). If the same pattern is true of Hither Spain, where pre-Flavian evidence is lacking, the modification introduced under Vespasian will have widened an existing cult of the *divi* to include Roma and the living emperor. Precisely this development is patently true of the provincial cult of Lusitania except that there is no trace of Roma.

Lusitania

If the Claudian inscription of Albinus is of critical interest in confirming the inclusion of Diva Augusta alongside Divus Augustus in the early provincial cult of Lusitania (above, pp. 56–9), a dedication at Emerita attesting the priesthood of Ṃ. Iunius Latro provides the key to the expanded worship of the Flavian era:

> *T. Caesari Aug. f.* | *Vespasiano pontif.* | *imp. XII trib. pote. vii* | *cos. vi* | *provincia Lusitania* | *C. Arruntio Catellio* | *Celere leg. Aug. pro.pr.* | *Ṃ. Iunio Latrone* | *Conimbricese flamine* | *provinciae Lusitaniae* | *ex auri p. v.*
> *CIL* 2, 5264 = *ILS* 261 = *ILER* 1082 = *ERAE* 62 (Pl. 19)

The main features of this important record have been analyzed on earlier occasions.[222] The principal point to emerge is that the gold object dedicated by the province must be a *protomé* of Titus, a ritual object that will have been carried in procession just as were apparently the bronze(?) busts or statues of Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta dedicated at Emerita by Albinus (*AE*, 1997, 777b).[223] As the *protomé* was dedicated to Titus between July 1, A.D. 77, and April 78,[224] conceivably in December of A.D. 77[225]—so at a time when he was virtual co-emperor—there can be no doubt that Vespasian too was incorporated within the cult. The representation of Titus is therefore pivotal evidence for a new stage in the evolution of the provincial worship, one which saw the inclusion of the living emperor(s) with the deified dead including Livia. The inference looks assured by a further consideration that has been been mentioned in passing earlier[226] but can now be developed in detail in the light of comparative evidence from various other provinces.

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[222] Fishwick (1981) 86–96; Vol. I, 2, 278; II, 1, 528, 558; Priesthoods (1999) 93–102; See earlier Étienne–Fabre–Lévêque (1976) 49–51, no. 24, pl. VII; further Saquete (1997) 108–9, noting that at Norba in A.D. 194 the local council dedicated to Septimius Severus what looks to be a bust of 10 lb weight, in this case of silver (*CIL* 2, 693). Clauss (1999) 117–18, takes the bust to be dedicated to "die Gottheit Titus".

[223] Comparison with the dedication of Albinus Albui *f.* tells in favour of a small (5 lb) gold bust rather than a palm, as suggested alternatively by Étienne–Fabre–Lévêque, *ibid.*, commenting on the modest amount of gold dedicated by the provincial *concilium*.

[224] Degrassi (1952) 22.

[225] For the view that in Baetica at least the provincial priesthood may have run from

i. A Flavian Regulation at Emerita

The inscription attests the dedication to Titus of what must be a small gold figure of some kind on the part of the province, alongside which are also present the provincial priest, Ṃ. Iunius Latro, and the propraetorian legate, C. Arruntius Catellius Celer.[227] If one turns to the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*, a Vespasianic document hitherto assumed to list regulations unique to that province,[228] it is clear that the retiring priest shall be entitled to spend surplus funds on the provision of statues and busts of the emperor. Equally significant, while the reading is not entirely certain, it appears that the provincial governor of Narbonensis has some sort of say in the proceedings—very possibly he could give or withold consent:[229]

> 26. *Qui flamonio abierit is ex ea pecunia* [...65... *statu*]
>
> 27. *as imaginesve imperatoris Caeṣ*[*aris* ...45... *arbitratu(?) eius qui eo anno pro*]
>
> 28. *vinciae praeerit* ... (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964: lines 26–8)

Despite the lacunae in the preserved text, the application of precisely this regulation looks to be reflected in the Emerita inscription, in which case everything suggests that a similar provision to that of the Lex Narbonensis was operative in Lusitania also.[230]

January 1 to December 31 see Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 287–8, 292; further Vol. III, 2, 226–31.

[226] Vol. I, 2, 278.

[227] Alföldy (1969) 139–40. For similar ritual at Castulo, Sarmizegetusa and Troesmis see Vol. III, 2, 215, 251–3, 282–4.

[228] For the attribution of the Lex Narbonensis to the early reign of Vespasian see above, pp. 104–9.

[229] On the religious and cultic duties of a Roman provincial governor see Eck (1993) 152–6. The apparent role of the provincial governor attested in the Lex Narbonensis can now be added to Eck's examples.

[230] Cf. Saquete (1997) 143–4, with n. 578, inferring the application of the provisions of

While previous analysis has drawn this particular parallel often enough, only recently has it become clear that various clauses of the Lex Narbonensis were followed in a wide range of western provinces, in particular Tres Galliae, Hispania Citerior, Baetica, Proconsularis and Sardinia. This raises the obvious question of whether further provisions of the same legislation were applicable in Lusitania just as they were elsewhere. More particularly, why is there no trace whatsoever at Emerita of honorific statues which have been set up by the provincial council to a priest on termination of his office. As the bases of such statues are a prime source of evidence in Hispania Citerior and Tres Galliae and certainly present, if to a lesser degree in Baetica, where regulations at the provincial centre are in one instance echoed in a local inscription,[231] one might well wonder whether this particular provision was observed at all in Lusitania. While the question remains open, the inscription of Ṃ. Iunius Latro surely points to the alternative possibility, namely that the absence of honorific statues to provincial priests is rather to be ascribed to the accident of survival as at Narbo Martius and perhaps Carthage.[232] If an analysis on similar lines applies also at Emerita, the probable inference to be drawn is that the provincial centre was located somewhere within the city itself, presumably beneath an area of dense habitation that nowadays obscures the ancient remains. Such a hypothesis would fit the vicinity of the Plaza del Parador Nacional de Turismo and the Cerro del Calvario del Turismo,[233] though positive identification of a provincial centre in the form of epigraphical traces, including perhaps the inscribed base of a statue raised to a provincial priest, has yet to emerge.

A potential objection is that in contrast to local evidence in Baetica or Proconsularis, local inscriptions of Lusitania fail to provide any echo or reflection of regulations at the provincial centre comparable to those of the Lex Narbonensis. Yet neither do local inscriptions of Hispania citerior, the provincial centre of which has provided far and away the highest number of statue bases of any province of the Latin west. The obvious explanation in Hither Spain is that the texts on these very numerous traces do not follow exactly the prescription of

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the Lex Narbonensis at Emerita.

[231] Above, pp. 132–3; Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 285–91.

[232] For the provincial centres of Narbonensis and Proconsularis see Vol. III, 3, 130–3, 179–80.

[233] Vol. III, 3, 47–61 with Pls. 80, 82–4.

the Lex Narbonensis, perhaps because a provincial cult of Hither Spain had been in effect since the reign of Tiberius and existing provincial cults had some margin in the extent to which they were to follow the new Flavian regulations; conceivably these could be adapted to the prevailing circumstances of a province. In Baetica, in contrast, where a provincial cult appears to have been instituted under Vespasian, the same regulations were observed in close detail (above, pp. 119–26). If this inference is correct, similar considerations may well have applied in Lusitania, where we have seen that a provincial cult likewise existed from the Tiberian period. In this province too an honorific statue to a past provincial priest—an example of which remains to be recovered—may not have been inscribed precisely as laid down by the relevant clause of the Lex Narbonensis, in which case an echo of this could hardly be expected in local inscriptions.

ii. The Provincial Cult

So many of these gaps in our knowlege may yet be illuminated by new epigraphical discoveries. In the meantime the inscription of Ṃ. Iunius Latro remains of primary importance not only for its unmistakable testimony to the operation in Lusitania of a regulation very similar to one of the clauses of the Lex Narbonensis but also for the light it throws on the expansion of the provincial cult under the Flavians to include the living emperor.[234] The priestly formula it records, *flamen provinciae Lusitaniae*, is analogous to that of all remaining known provincial priests in offering no clue whatsoever to the content of the worship but at least is precisely datable.[235] The most that can be said of the rest is that they are to all appearances post-Claudian.

Britannia

No trace of any priest of Britannia has survived, whether in the Flavian period or any other. As a result, the meagre literary sources can be supplemented only by the archaeological record.[236] This suggests that the immediate task in the post-Claudian period will have been the restoration and completion of the unfinished temple along with construction of the first timber buildings of the enclosing precinct; only later were these replaced by masonry structures that defined the boundaries of the *temenos*. To judge from pottery fragments the precinct was at all events enclosed and the complex rebuilt by A.D. 80–100 (Vol. III, 3, Pl. 122). As for the official worship of the province, the dedication of the temple to Divus Claudius can hardly have been possible before the reign of Vespasian. Whether in the interval an earlier cult of Roma and Augustus at the altar was temporarily restored and how long elapsed before the deified Augustus and Livia had their place at the temple—these and other related questions are unanswerable in the total absence of epigraphical evidence.

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[234] Le Roux (1994) 400, infers that the text of *CIL* 2, 5264 tells in favour of some sort of reorganization of the provincial cult during the reign of Vespasian.

[235] For a list of priests of Lusitania see Vol. III, 2, 151–3.

[236] For detailed discussion see Vol. III, 3, 135–48.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXTENSION AND CONSOLIDATION (A.D. 96–193)

The distinctive feature of the Antonine period is the extension of an official ruler cult to the provinces of the Danube region.[1] In Dacia a *concilium* and a provincial cult, both based on Sarmizegetusa, are attested by the latter half of the second century, each probably instituted soon after Trajan annexed the territory at the turn of the first century, so well before the tripartite division of the province under Hadrian. Similarly a provincial cult of Upper Pannonia with its headquarters possibly located at Savaria appears to date from Trajan's division of Pannonia into two provinces *ca.* A.D. 106. Of particular interest in the lower province, where a provincial cult looks likewise to have been founded by Trajan, is that this now appears to have centred on the provincial capital of Aquincum rather than the settlement at Gorsium as previously supposed. No priestly record survives in Upper Moesia, where Remesiana and recently Viminacium have been proposed as the seat of the provincial council, but in Lower Moesia the priesthood of the province is recorded by the mid A.D. 160's and Oescus has been suggested as the likeliest site of the provincial centre. At what point a provincial cult was instituted in either province is unknown, though it seems likely that responsibility should be assigned to Trajan in light of his foundations is other Danubian provinces. To these can possibly be added Dalmatia, where despite the lack of chronological support the form of worship looks strikingly similar to that of other provincial cults in the region. In all these territories a Trajanic origin looks corroborated by the content of the cult, which focusses uncompromisingly on the living emperor to the exclusion of the *divi*, with whom Hadrian was principally concerned.

Some notable developments are nevertheless attested by the epigraphic record of provinces in other parts of the Latin west. First and foremost the provincial cult of Tres Galliae underwent a significant modification with the inclusion of deified personages and the associated construction of a provincial temple; both innovations look attributable to Hadrian, who must have visited Lugdunum in A.D. 121 shortly before he repaired the "Temple of Augustus" at Tarraco. In Hispania citerior the provincial cult itself remained unchanged but there are already signs that enthusiasm for holding provincial office was beginning to wane. In contrast Africa Proconsularis took an unprecedented step late under Trajan in replacing *flamen* with *sacerdos* as the title of the provincial priest—not that this seems to have affected the content of the provincial worship, which to all appearances remained unaltered. A similar shift occurred subsequently in the title of the provincial priest of Sardinia, presumably in response to the lead given by Proconsularis. Beyond these apparently formal changes in Proconsularis and Sardinia, however, there is little to register elsewhere, though it is of interest that a text in Baetica confirms that the provincial *flaminica* tended the cult of deified females. The overall picture that emerges is of a broadly similar pattern of worship now operative in the older provinces,[2] which uniformly paid cult to the deified dead along with the living emperor—and Roma, it should be added, in the Three Gauls and Hither Spain. The newly instituted provincial cults of the Danube region, on the other hand, stand firmly apart from this homogeneous evolution in focusing solely on the reigning Augustus, his worship served by a *sacerdos* at an altar.

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[1] For an earlier provisional outline see Fishwick (1978) 1233–5.

The general background to provincial ruler worship under the Antonines has already been sketched in some detail.[3] The hallmark of the era is a movement away from the *dominatio* of Domitian to a more moderate, conservative outlook, articulated under Trajan by the Augustan themes of his coinage or the sentiments expressed by Pliny in the *Panegyricus* (2,3; cf. 52, 2 *et passim*). In contrast to the "republicanism" paraded by the literary sources, Trajan nevertheless deified both his predecessor and in some sense his own father, while in A.D. 112 Marciana became *diva cognominata* prior to her full-scale consecration early in the next reign. The trend continued under Hadrian, who shifted the focus of the ruler cult to the worship of the *divi* and *divae* and transformed the cult of Roma. Emphasis on his "divine parents" and the systematic deification of Matidia, Marciana, Plotina and Sabina strengthened the uncertain credentials of a ruler in search of a respectable pedigree, while the promotion of Roma in her new idiom of Roma Aeterna—now a personification of the city rather than a tutelary Greek divinity—emphasized Hadrian's inward-looking policy regarding the empire and hopes of sparking a truly national feeling; the cult was served at Rome by a college of *duodecimviri* and in the provinces by *sacerdotes*. Both of these concerns are notably reflected in the emperor's preoccupation with the worship and provincial monuments of Tres Galliae. The Hadrianic pattern continued through the remainder of the Antonine period with an individual *aedes* set aside for each *divus* until the practice gave way to a common *templum divorum* on the Palatine in which each divinity had his own *aedicula*. In line with the same development individual sodalities were instituted to serve each ruler in turn. None are yet attested for Nerva and Trajan but records survive of *sodales* for Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Verus and Commodus, at which point the creation of new sodalities seems to have ended.

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[2] Vol. I, 1, 93.

[3] Fishwick (1978) 1233, 1236–7, 1241–2; Vol. I, 2, 301, 312–14. See in general Clauss (1999) 133–51 (to be used with caution).

Dacia

On the view originally proposed by Daicoviciu it was not until the reign of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222–35) that the province of Dacia acquired a *concilium provinciarum Daciarum Trium* with its seat at Sarmizegetusa, the colony that Trajan had founded by A.D. 107.[4] From close scrutiny of all epigraphical texts that mention the council of Tres Daciae or its related personnel and manifestations Daicoviciu concluded that no evidence existed for an earlier assembly. None of the terms *concilium Daciarum Trium*, *ara Augusti*, *coronatus*, *sacerdos / sacerdotalis arae Aug. n.*, *sacerdotalis Daciae / provinciae* is attested in the second century, so the council must have been a relatively late creation of the third century A.D., no equivalent to which existed in the second.

Subsequent examination of the evidence has suggested a somewhat different picture, the framework for which is provided by the administrative development of the province of Dacia.[5] Annexed by Trajan *ca.* A.D. 100, the territory was divided under Hadrian in A.D. 118 into Dacia Inferior and Dacia Superior, from which the area of Dacia

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[4] Daicoviciu, Dazien (1966) 9–10. with refs. to earlier publications; cf. *id.*, *RE* Suppl. 14 (1974) 612–14, 650; Lajos (1969) 21–4. The town seems to have been named Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa from its beginning. See Etienne–Piso–Diaconescu, Propylées (1990) 108–9; *eid.* (1994) 160–1 with Vol. III, 3, Pl. 126.

[5] Petolescu (1985); *id.* (1986); (1987); Piso (1985); *id.* (1993) 1–9, 30–41, 82–93.

Porolissensis had been split off by A.D. 119. Under the reorganization of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 168/169) the remainder of Upper Dacia became Dacia Apulensis, while Lower Dacia was renamed Dacia Malvenisis; these three divisions were now united under a single governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore / consularis Trium Daciarum*) with the names Dacia Porolissensis, Dacia Apulensis (Upper Dacia) and Dacia Malvensis (Lower Dacia). It follows that strictly speaking a council of the Three Daciae could not have existed before the combination of the three provinces in a single administrative unity. As has now become clear, however, four separate testimonia point to the existence of both a *concilium* and a provincial cult in the last decades of the second century—well before the reign of Severus Alexander, therefore.[6]

At Sarmizegetusa an inscription from an altar set up after A.D. 161/2 (*IDR* 3/2, 93) celebrates the benevolent administration of P. Furius Saturninus, *legatus Augustorum*, who evidently held the consulship during his governorship of Upper Dacia (A.D. 159–161/2), a circumstance explained by the increased importance of the province following the attacks of the barbarians in A.D. 157–8;[7] the text is partly identical with a fragmentary second record on the upper left-hand section of a marble altar likewise found at Sarmizegetusa (*IDR* 3/2, 94). Both documents testify, therefore, to the obligation and devotion of the *provincia* (restored in the second text), which given the presence of a provincial priest at Apulum in the period A.D. 161–80 (below) must here be equivalent to *concilium* as frequently in Hispania citerior.[8] The expression appears at a time when both Dacia Porolissensis and Lower Dacia were under an independant *procurator vice praesidis*,[9] whereas Upper Dacia was governed by a *legatus pro praetore*, so in light of Daicoviciu's view I. Piso took the *concilium* to be that of Dacia Superior.[10] In that case, however, either the two other administrative units had their own *concilium*, no trace of which survives, or both lacked a *concilium*, neither of which alternatives looks an attractive possibility. The fact that the division of Dacia was never as sharp as that, say, of Tres Galliae, along with the circumstance that *provincia* later refers on coins to the whole of Dacia (below, p. 209) rather suggests that behind the term *provincia* in the two texts of A.D. 161 lurks a *concilium* of the whole of Dacia rather than of just Dacia Superior (or Dacia Apulensis as it was soon to be called).[11]

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[6] Lajos (1969) 30–1; Ardevan (1993) 233–4; *id.* (1998) 334–6.

[7] Piso (1972) 466–70; *id.* (1993) 73–5; Ardevan (1993) 233–4.

[8] The context is clearly different from, say, that of the isolated communal action of the province of Baetica in 2 B.C./A.D. 14 (*CIL* 6, 31267 = *ILS* 103) or again in A.D. 25 (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37, 1), both of which occurred long before the earliest evidence for a provincial priesthood.

[9] Piso (1993) 38–41; Ardevan (1998) 334.

[10] Piso (1972) 467–9.

This possibility looks supported by the circumstance that C. Ulpius Bonus is attested as *s(acerdotalis?) pr(ovinciae)* at Municipium Aurelium Apulense between A.D. 161 and 180 (*AE*, 1956, 207). The incumbent could theoretically be a priest of Dacia Superior if his tenure falls before A.D. 169 (though see above), but if he served later, he must surely be priest of all three provinces of Dacia, as suggested once again by the term *provincia.*[12] At Apulum further evidence has been sought in a dedication set up to Hercules Augustus by the *sacerdos* Reginus, *[i]n[st]itutus ab Helv(io) Pertinace [c]o(n)s(ulari)*;[13] the votive character of the text is emphasized by the representation of a *patera* at either side of the text (*CIL* 3, 7751). If Reginus were a provincial priest, as Mommsen first proposed,[14] he would be a second provincial priest from the latter part of the second century, but this inference looks most unlikely. As Brandis saw,[15] a provincial priest ought to have been elected by members of the provincial council at their annual meeting, precisely as in other provinces. In any case the term *institutus* rather implies that the future emperor founded or created for some reason a special priesthood at Apulum,[16] distinct from the local municipal priesthood of the imperial cult, the term for which is *flamonium*.[17] Everything suggests, then, that this is yet another example of the involvement of the provincial governor in the religious life of his province, evidence for which is particulary rich in the Greek East, including Egypt.[18] Lastly, an honorific inscription was set up at Sarmizegetusa by M. Cominius Quintus, *sacerdos arae Augusti*, to his most dutiful sister on ground granted by the decurions (*IDR* 3/2, 108, cf. 19, 107); on the arguments of Ardevan this is dated to the last decades of the second century.[19] What we have then, in sum, are a duplicated reference to the *concilium* and two traces of a provincial priest, which collectively, if not individually, look to attest a provincial cult paid by the combined provinces of Dacia in the latter part of the second century. The remainder of inscriptions relevant to the provincial cult of Dacia belong to the third century, as Daicoviciu saw.

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[11] See in general Deininger (1965) 118–19.

[12] Ardevan (1998) 334 with n. 141. For provincial priesthoods in the last decades of the second centuty see in general *id.* (1993) 233ff. Daicoviciu, Dazien (1966) 13, dates the text to after A.D. 222 and takes Ulpius Bonus to be a priest of Tres Daciae; cf. Deininger (1965) 118, n. 6 (no date proposed). Lajoz (1969) 31, assigns the priesthood to the second/third century.

[13] Reference to Helvius Pertinax as *consularis* clearly places the text after the three provinces of Dacia were consolidated under a single governor—more precisely in A.D. 177–80(?), when Pertinax was in charge of Dacia after serving successively (it would appear) as governor of both provinces of Moesia; cf. *SHA*, *Pert.* 2, 10: *Cassiano motu composito e Syria ad Danuvii tutelam profectus est atque inde Moesiae utriusque, mox Daciae regimen accepit.* For the term of P. Helvius Pertinax in Dacia see Piso (1993) 117–30, especially 125–9.

[14] *Id. ad CIL* 3, 7751: sacerdos a praeside institutus sacerdos provinciae fuisse videtur; cf. Ardevan (1998) 331–2. Piso (1993) 127 with refs., nn. 57–9, follows Daicoviciu in taking Reginus to be a municipal priest of Colonia Apulensis.

[15] *RE* 4, 2 (1901) 1972; Deininger (1965) 150–1.

[16] *ThLL* 7, 1, col. 1989; *OLD* 930 s.v. *instituo*: 3. See in particular Pliny, *NH* 18, 6: *Arvorum sacerdotes Romulus in primis instituit* ... ; Cic., *De Orat.* 3, 73: ... *cum essent ipsi* (sc.

i. The Provincial Cult

Retrospective comparison with other provinces of the Latin west suggests the possibility that a provincial council along with a provincial cult was instituted soon after the region was annexed by Trajan.[20] From what groupings such an early *concilium* might have drawn its delegates is unclear as indigenous *civitates* on the Gallic model seem not to have existed in pre-Roman Dacia; rather they are creations of the period after the conquest, when they centred perhaps on communities of colonists.[21] At all events a council with limited role could well have emerged under Trajan independently of a unified group of provinces, in which case it would at this stage have assumed the character of a *koinon* much as the council of Tres Galliae represented three provinces.[22] Whatever the precise development, there is certainly evidence at Sarmizegetusa for the existence of some form of council in the

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pontifices) a Numa ... instituti; Tac., *Ann.* 1, 54: ... *ut quondam Titius Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat.*

[17] Ardevan (1992) 49–50.

[18] Price (1984) 54, 69–71, 75, 77; Eck (1993); Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 340–4.

[19] Ardevan (1993) 231–6, arguing that the office of *praef. qq. pro Antonino imp.* places his *cursus* in the second century: as the emperor cannot be Antoninus Pius, the career of Cominius Quintus must be dated towards the end of the second century. Daicoviciu, Dazien (1966) 12, nn. 17–19, proposes a date under Gordian or later, while Lajos (1969) 30, n. 64 places the inscription before A.D. 222.

[20] Deininger (1965) 32–3; Fishwick (1978) 1233–4; Vol. I, 2, 301–2.

[21] Ardevan (1998) 67ff., 334–5, suggesting that a *concilium* with a restricted role could have represented groups of settlers.

[22] Ardevan (1998) 335, n. 147 with refs.

second half of the second century when it evidently played a part in provincial life (*IDR* 3/2, 93–4: above);[23] after A.D. 169 this would naturally have been a council of Tres Daciae. As for the content of the provincial cult at this stage, the priesthood of M. Cominius Quintus, *sacerdos arae Aug(usti)*, clearly indicates that the worship centred on an altar, doubtless located at Sarmizegetusa,[24] and was directed towards the reigning emperor as in the third century. Of particular note is the absence of Roma beside the living ruler, a development found throughout all provinces of the Danube region.

Upper and Lower Pannonia

No evidence has survived that might point to a provincial cult of Pannonia prior to the division of the province by Trajan *ca.* A.D. 106.[25] Of the six priests of Pannonia superior whose traces have so far emerged one may belong to the Antonine period (*RIU* 20; *RSS* 38, 89: A.D. 107–211), while two others provide no criteria for dating (*AIJ* 449: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 70; *ILIug* 1169).[26] All of these confirm that the priestly title was *sacerdos / sacerdotalis*, the title appropriate to the cult of the living emperor, who at this stage and in this region is no longer associated with Roma. The inference is confirmed by the title of L. Cl. Moderatus, which shows that the cult of the Augustus centred on an altar: *sacerdot(alis) arae Aug(usti)* (*ILIug* 1169; Aquae Iasae); also by the Severan title of [Oc]ṭ Faustinianus, which attests the cult of two Augusti at an altar: *[sac(erdos) ar]ae Augg(ustorum) [provinc]iae P(annoniae) s(uperioris)* (*RIU* 71: Savaria). A cult of the living emperor that focussed on an altar and was served by a *sacerdos* corresponds exactly to the form of provincial cult attested in Dacia, Lower Pannonia, presumably also the two provinces of Moesia, where no direct evidence survives. Given that Trajan was author of the provincial worship of Dacia, the fact that the cult of Upper Pannonia must postdate the Trajanic division of the province strongly suggests that it too was founded by Trajan. As for the location of the provincial worship, there is every reason to follow Mommsens' inference (*CIL* 3, p. 525) that the provincial altar will have been situated not at Carnuntum, the seat of the Roman governor, but at Savaria, where three of the priestly records occur (*RIU* 20, *RSS* 38, 89; *RIU* 71; *RIU* 39, *RSS* 7, 84).[27] In addition the *municipium* of Scarbantia and the *colonia* of Siscia both set up dedications at Savaria (*CIL* 3, 4192–3).

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[23] Ardevan (1993) 233–4.

[24] Fitz (1985) 260, 262.

[25] For earlier discussion see Deiniger (1965) 116–17 with refs.; Fishwick, (1978) 1234; Vol. I, 2, 302–3.

[26] For a list of priests of Upper Pannonia see Vol. III, 2, 273–4.

Evidence from Lower Pannonia is equally meagre. A single inscription attests the priest [M. Ulpius], who had served as *sacerd(os) [pr(ovinciae) Pannoniae inf(erioris)]* in the period from Hadrian to Septimius Severus (*CIL* 3, 10305). Beyond the term *sacerdos* his record offers no hint on the nature of the cult, but a Severan text preserves the title *sacerdos arae Aug(usti) n(ostri) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) infer(ioris)* (*CIL* 3, 10496), whereas two later texts give only the title *sacerdos provinci(ae) / p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) in[f(erioris)]* (*CIL* 3, 3485; *RIU* 979).[28] It would appear, then, that the provincial cult of Lower Pannonia, like that of Upper Pannonia and Dacia, focussed on an altar at which the provincial priest tended the cult of the living Augustus. As in Pannonia superior, a foundation under Trajan following partition of the province looks the likeliest hypothesis. The priesthood of [M. Ulpius] must at all events fall after Aquincum was made a *municipium* by Hadrian but before its elevation to the rank of *colonia* by Septimius Severus since [M. Ulpius] had served as *decurio* or *duumvir* at the *municipium Aquincum* before his election to the provincial priesthood.

The more intriguing question is the precise location of the provincial altar.[29] The standard view until very recently has been that both the altar and a supposed temple of Lower Pannonia were located at Gorsium, where excavations have unearthed a complex of ceremonial buildings in the *area sacra* of the settlement; these include what were taken to be provincial monuments including the presumed meeting place of the provincial council. With no trace of the provincial cult of the *divi* in Lower Panonnia or for that matter anywhere in the Danube provinces, however, the identification of a provincial temple at Gorsium looks impossible. More substantially, recent archaeological exploration has made it increasingly clear that the sanctuary at Gorsium was rather concerned with the worship of "oriental deities", Dolichenus in particular. If that is the case, the provincial altar of Lower Pannonia must have been located elsewhere, in all probability at Aquincum, the site where the inscription of C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris occurs with its key reference to the *ara Augusti nostri* (*CIL* 3, 10496).[30] In contrast to Upper Pannonia, then, the provincial centre of Lower Pannonia will have been situated at the capital of the province as commonly the case elsewhere.

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[27] Deininger (1965) 116, n. 9 with refs.; Fitz (1985) 257, 262; Alföldy (1983) 234.

[28] For priests of Lower Pannonia see Vol. III, 2, 282–3.

[29] For detailed discussion and bibliography see Fishwick, Gorsium (2000); adapted in Vol. III, 3, 149–72.

Upper and Lower Moesia

In Upper Moesia no record of a provincial priest has been preserved but a fragmentary inscription records a text apparently inscribed by the province in honour of Alexander Severus and Julia Mammaea (*CIL* 3, 8257). On the standard conjecture Remesiana, the find-spot of the stone, served as the provincial centre, seat of the *concilium*,[31] also as the site of a supposed provincial altar of the Augustus;[32] positive testimony for such a structure has not survived but the inference can draw on analogy with the provincial cults of Dacia and the Pannonian provinces. Alternatively it has been suggested that the *concilium provinciae* may have convened rather at Viminacium, given that coins were minted here by authority of the provincial assembly.[33] Further evidence will be needed before a firm conclusion comes within reach.

In Moesia inferior a single text records that Tiberius Vitales, a veteran of the Legio V Macedonica who had apparently been posted to special duties, was subsequently appointed *sacerdos / sacerdotalis provinciae* despite his apparent lack of Roman citizenship (*IScM* 5, 194: Troesmis).[34] The inscription can be dated prior to the mid A.D. 160s by the fact that it was set up before the legion moved from Troesmis to Potaissa. Neither this text nor a later recorded priesthood in the time of Elagabalus (*IScM* 5, 151; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 71, Troesmis) gives any clue to the nature of the worship beyond the title *sacerdos / sacerdotalis*, but comparison with similar titles of provincial priests in other Danube provinces plainly points to a cult of the living Augustus. As for the vexed location of the provincial centre, discussion has focussed on Troesmis, the find-spot of both inscriptions that attest the provincial priesthood of

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[30] For analysis of the inscription of Peculiaris see Fishwick, Peculiaris (2000).

[31] Deininger (1965) 119; Fitz (1985) 261–2.

[32] Mócsy (1970) 92; *id.* (1974) 214.

[33] So Kos (1992) 209, 211–14.

[34] For discussion see Vol. III, 2, 285–6.

Lower Moesia. The settlement was given the rank of *municipium* soon after the legion moved to Potaissa,[35] but any possibility it might have earlier served as the provincial centre looks excluded by the text of the provincial priest Tiberius Vitales. As previous discussion has noted, while the town was garrisoned by the Legio V Macedonica until the mid A.D. 160s, the civil settlement of Troesmis itself remaining a mere *vicus* until its elevation by Marcus Aurelius.[36] It seems unlikely, then, that the *concilium* will have had its seat at so minor a centre near a military camp; certainly there are no parallels in other provinces. For this reason Oescus was suggested as a likelier alternative, given that under Trajan the town was raised to the rank of *colonia* and the Legio V Macedonica transferred from its station here to Troesmis.[37] Unless one is to make the improbable assumption that the provincial centre shifted its headquarters, no precedent for which is known, this still appears the more attractive inference despite the lack of any direct evidence at Oescus to confirm its rival claims.[38]

Equally uncertain is which emperor instituted a provincial cult in either Upper or Lower Moesia. The division of the province under Domitian looks a suitable point of origin but with no clear evidence of any contribution by Domitian to provincial worship it is possible that responsibility should rather be attributed to Trajan, especially in light of his foundations in other Danube provinces and the promotion of Oescus in particular.

Dalmatia

A fragmentary inscription at Zenica appears to record a *sacerd(oti/otali)* [*provi*]*nc(iae) De*[*l*]*ma*[*tiae*] who had earlier been *duumvir* at the Flavian *municipium* of Bistua (*CIL* 3, 12766 + ?12762).[39] No other references to the provincial cult of Dalmatia are preserved but the form *sacerdos/otalis* is in line with the priestly formula of other provincial foundations in the Danube region, all of which look to date from the reign of Trajan. As elsewhere, the term *sacerdos/otalis* suggests a cult that focussed on the living emperor and centred on an altar.[40] Whereas the regional cults based on Scardona and Doclea could well be earlier, more probably Flavian than Augustan (above, pp. 148–9), a Trajanic foundation of the provincial cult of Dalmatia may provisionally be proposed pending the appearance of clearer evidence. In the meantime it must be emphasized that the origins of all of these cults in Dalmatia remain very debatable, as does also the uncertain whereabouts of the provincial centre.

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[35] *PECS* 935 s.v. Troesmis (Doruţiu-Boilă), placing the departure of the legion from Troesmis in A.D. 163.

[36] *RE* 7, 1 (1939) 592 (Betz); Fitz (1985) 260–1.

[37] Kornemann (1901) 135; Fishwick (1978) 1234. Kornemann had earlier suggested Troesmis: *id.*, *RE* 4, 1, (1900) 808; cf. Gočeva (1990) 144.

[38] Gočeva (1990) 142.

[39] Deininger (1965) 116; Wilkes (1969) 275; Fishwick (1978) 1234; Vol. I, 2, 302.

Tres Galliae

The central event of the Antonine period is the addition of a provincial temple, evidently constructed in the vicinity of the federal altar, which inscriptions henceforth describe as *ad / apud templum*. All analogy suggests, then, that the temple of the Three Gauls will have been placed immediately to the rear of the altar in accordance with the usual arrangement of Graeco-Roman precincts. In light of this new departure a distinction was drawn earlier between the "cult at the altar" and the subsequent "temple cult".[41] M. Clauss disputes this distinction on the grounds that, even after completion of the temple, cult was offered at the altar just as before, so would exclude entirely any differentiation between a later "temple cult" and an earlier "cult at the altar".[42] What this objection plainly overlooks, however, is that the cult at the sanctuary by Lugdunum initially centred on an altar at a time when no temple was in existence, whereas on completion of the provincial temple the original monument apparently became the altar that now stood before it precisely as before any other temple.[43] It is difficult to imagine that a second altar appropriate to the temple was placed before it—between, say, the temple and the original federal altar:[44] the phrase … *sacerdos apud aram* … *ad templum*, for example, (cf. *CIL* 13, 11174; Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIXa) would appear to rule out that possibility, quite apart from lack of space if the federal altar was located where usually supposed. There seems no good reason, therefore, not to refer to the later worship as the "temple cult", even though in practice offerings continued to be made at the same structure as before, when only the federal altar was in existence. One surely speaks of cult at the temple of Mars Ultor, for instance, not at the associated altar of Mars Ultor, as Clauss' reasoning would require.

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[40] Fishwick (1978) 1233–5; Vol. I, 2, 302 with n. 15; *id.*, *Arae* (2002) forthcoming.

[41] Vol. I, 2, 327.

[42] Clauss (1999) 397–8.

[43] Cf. Vol. I, 2, 333, n. 80.

[44] Kindly suggested orally on one occasion by A. Alföldi.

i. The Provincial Temple

Neither the physical features nor the date of the temple are directly in evidence. Tangible remains that might relate to the structure are restricted to fragments of a marble architrave, building stones tentatively attributed to the temple, a Hadrianic medallion from the Rhône valley possibly portraying federal monuments at Lugudunum, perhaps also part of a marble plaque with traces of the inset for the letters RO.[45] None of these remnants amounts to solid evidence in itself and it is notable that, apart from the plaque, L. Tranoy and G. Ayala omit this material from discussion in their recent survey of evidence from the slopes of Croix-Rousse, the site of the federal sanctuary.[46] Otherwise the central evidence is provided by the priestly inscriptions, eight of which certainly refer to the temple or to the altar near (*ad / apud*) the temple;[47] in another four the word *templum* can be restored with varying degrees of probability.[48]

Since the plural *Augustorum* is given in full or can be confidently completed after every mention of the temple, the structure was evidently integrated into the cult following expansion of the worship to include consecrated personages along with the living emperor and Roma; previously the altar had been the focus of a cult directed to Roma and Augustus exclusively (initially Augustus himself, that is, later the current emperor). This development conforms to the practice observable throughout the Latin west whereby the cult of state gods was accommodated at a temple whereas that of the living emperor with or without Roma centred on an altar. In point of fact a single exception to this general rule occurs here at the Lugdunum sanctuary.[49] An undated inscription known only from the manuscript tradition records that the expanded cult was initially served by the altar:

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[45] Vol. I, 2, 308 with nn. 1, 4–7 and Pl. LXIII; Vol. I, 1, 105 with n. 58 and Pl. VIa; Vol. III, 3, 123–4.

[46] Tranoy-Ayala (1994) 183–4.

[47] *CIL* 13, 1714, 1706, 1716, 1702, 1710, 11174, 1712, 1691a+b.

[48] *CIL* 13, 1687, cf. *AE* (1983) 694; *CIL* 13, 1694, 1049, 1684a, cf. b.

[49] On Hirschfeld's completions another example would be *CIL* 13, 1694: ... *sa*[*cerd. ad aram*] | [*R*]*omae et Au*[*gustorum* ... . Whether *aram* or *templum* should be restored is patently uncertain as also is the expansion of *Au*[*gusti/orum*.

> *omnibus honori] | bus in colonia sua | perfuncto | sacerdoti ad aram | Romae et Augustor(um) | ...* CIL 13, 1718

With this may be compared a text dated by Hirschfeld to the late first or early second century on the basis of its letter forms, so perhaps the earliest record of the temple to survive.

> *C. [Se]rvilio | M[ar]tiano | Arverno | C. Servilii | Domiti filio | sacerdoti ad | templum Romae | et Augustorum | Tres Provinciae | Galliae.*
> *CIL* 13, 1706; Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIVa

It would seem, then, that the change in the content of the worship took place before the temple was put into cultic service—always assuming, that is, that the manuscript version of *CIL* 13, 1718 is correct. Until then apparently—so presumably while the temple was under construction—the altar served the expanded cult, an exceptional situation that seems without parallel elsewhere in the west but can be explained by the circumstances under which the cult was reformed and the temple authorized (see further below, p. 228).

As for the juncture at which these events occurred, we have seen that an appropriate date must fall between the early Flavian period, when the inscriptions of Q. Adginnius Martinus, provincial priest *ca.* A.D. 74 (*CIL* 13, 1674–5), refer only to the altar of Roma and Augustus, and the Severan period, at which stage the altar apparently regained its ancient status as the principal monument, now the focus of the cult of the Caesar(s).[50] As noted earlier, the most likely period within these parameters will have been the reign of Hadrian, for whose preoccupation with both the *divi* and Roma there is abundant testimony.[51] More particularly, when Hadrian journeyed through Gaul twice in A.D. 121, his itinerary can hardly have omitted Lugdunum. Various building projects in the city are attributable to his reign, in particular an important development at the federal sanctuary, where the original Victory columns are thought to have been replaced with columns of Egyptian Syenite.[52] The amphitheatre seems also to have been enlarged towards the end of Hadrian's rule in order to accommodate a wider circle of spectators than just the delegates of the *civitates* with present and past provincial priests.[53] This undertaking has usually been attributed to C. Iulius Celsus, *procurator* of Lugdunensis and Aquitania between A.D. 130 and 136, on the grounds that his fragmentary inscription was found in the amphitheatre (*ILTG* 218).[54] Even so the scheme could well have been approved at the time Hadrian stayed at Lugdunum. In that case, it seems very possible that the emperor may at the same time have commissioned erection of the temple, particularly in light of his reported restoration of the "Temple of Augustus" at Tarraco, when he visited Spain a few months later (*SHA*, *Hadr.* 12, 3). Construction can then be placed between A.D. 121 and the extension of the federal amphitheatre *ca.* A.D. 130–6, a time frame which would be late but not too late for Hirschfeld's dating of *CIL* 13, 1706 on the basis of letter forms—always an uncertain criterion at Lugdunum.[55]

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[50] Fishwick, Priesthood (1996) 415; *CIL* 13, 1702; *CIL* 13, 1710; *CIL* 13, 11174; *CIL* 13, 1712; *CIL* 13, 1684a, cf. b; ? *CIL* 13, 3162; ? *CIL* 13, 1717. For discussion see Vol. I, 2, 326–33.

[51] Vol. I, 2, 312–14; Frei-Stolba (1988) 190, 201; *ead.* (1994) 38.

[52] Vol. I, 2, 314 with n. 43.

Erection of the temple of the Three Gauls can be viewed, therefore, as the natural outcome of Hadrian's extension of the provincial cult, which apparently was exceptionally accommodated at the provincial altar pending completion of the temple. An interesting side light on these developments has been thrown by the suggestion of R. Frei-Stolba that Hadrian's unparalleled triple grant of *immunitas* to Q. Otacilius Pollinus, *inquisitor III Galliarum* (*AE*, 1972, 352) could be linked with the emperor's visit to Lugdunum in A.D. 121.[56] She hypothesizes that in his capacity of *inquisitor* Otacilius Pollinus might have been prevailed upon to subsidize the public works programme that the emperor evidently launched. If so, the triple grant of *immunitas* could have been partly awarded for his cooperation in releasing federal funds towards replacement of the Victory columns, construction of the provincial temple, perhaps also in part the later extension of the amphitheatre. Whether an honorific text referring to a gift of some sort by Hadrian has any relevance to these events or to the emperor's physical presence at Lugdunum is impossible to affirm. All that is clear is that this defective monument was erected by the *concilium* of Tres Galliae, doubtless in honour of some functionary:

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[53] Frei-Stolba (1988) 190, with n. 20; *ead.* (1994) 38 with n. 14.

[54] Frei-Stolba (1988) 189–90 with nn. 16, 20. On the need for new research to substantiate the link with C. Iulius Celsus see Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 182; further Vol. III, 3, 122 with n. 50.

[55] Vol. I, 2, 316 with n. 52.

[56] Frei-Stolba (1988) 200–1.

> ... | *Tribus Provinc(iis) Galliis* | *Imp(erator) Caesar Traianus* | *Hadrianus Aug(ustus) dedit* | *Tres Provinciae* | *Galliae* (*CIL* 13, 1685)

Allmer proposed to complete the initial break: ... [*cui equum publicum postulantibus*] ... but, as Hirschfeld noted, other supplements could be supplied. In light of the triple grant of *immunitas* conferred by Hadrian on Q. Otacilius Pollinus—*ter immunitate a Divo Hadriano donato* (*AE*, 1972, 352)—it may be tentatively suggested that earlier lines of *CIL* 13, 1685 might have referred to a grant of immunity which was conferred personally by Hadrian[57] on Pollinus (at the request of the *concilium*?) and is commemorated here in an honorific text set up to this *inquisitor* by the Three Gauls. A single statue at the sanctuary would certainly be appropriate to one of the federal administrative officers, none of whom was honoured by a group statue on a styolobate, a distinction reserved for federal priests.[58]

ii. The Provincial Cult

The key development is the expansion of the provincial worship to include deified personages alongside Roma and the living Augustus, a step deducible from the plural *Augustorum* whether attested explicitly (*CIL* 13, 1706: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIVa; *CIL* 13, 1718) or by probable expansion of the abbreviation *Aug.* (*CIL* 13, 1714: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIVb).[59] We have seen that the modification was associated with construction of a temple, the monument appropriate to state gods, but that the change apparently took place at a time when the temple was not yet dedicated and the altar still the principal monument. If this inference is correct, we have in the Antonine period a single inscription attesting the enlarged cult at the altar (*CIL* 13, 1718), at least three further texts which certainly refer to the temple (*CIL* 13, 1706, 1714, 1716), and perhaps two others in which a reference to the temple is possibly to be restored (*CIL* 13, 1049, 1694). All of these belong to the period from Hadrian to the Severi, at which point inscriptions begin to attest the cult of the *Caesar* / *Caesares* at the altar near (*apud*) the temple of Roma and the Augusti (see further below, pp. 201–3). Of particular note is that in

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[57] For the hypothesis of a direct meeting between Pollinus and Hadrian see Frei-Stolba (1988) 200 with n. 67.

[58] On federal officials see Vol. III, 2, 46–55.

[59] Vol. I, 2, 309–10.

Tres Galliae the original term *sacerdos* was retained even when the content of the cult was widened to include deified personnages. In other provinces, where the cult was addressed to or included the *divi / divae* from the start, the priest was styled *flamen*. Whether Britannia corresponded to the Three Gauls in retaining the term *sacerdos* after erection of the provincial temple at Camulodunum cannot be affirmed, given the total lack of epigraphical evidence. At all events the provincial cult of the Three Gauls was now in line with that of most provinces outside the Danube region, though the inclusion of Roma in the worship seems to have been limited to Tres Galliae and Hispania citerior.

Hispania citerior

Two features of note in the Antonine period are Hadrian's repair of the "Temple of Augustus", the provincial status of which can hardly be in doubt, and clear indication of the increasing financial burden imposed by the priesthood of the province. Enthusiasm for office was plainly on the wane by the last decades of the century, though the cult itself remained unchanged.

i. The "Temple of Augustus"

We have seen that the provincial temple, first mentioned in Tacitus (*Ann.* 1, 78) and projected on coins struck at Tarraco under Tiberius, was apparently begun in the Julio-Claudian period but that construction continued slowly, perhaps even halted on occasion, down to the accession of the new Flavian dynasty (above, pp. 43–52). At this point the complex on the upper level of the provincial sanctuary, an outright copy of the Forum Augustum at Rome, was rapidly completed, while a vast complex equipped with multiple porticos took shape on the terrace below. The adjoining circus was built later under Domitian.

A new chapter was added to the history of the temple with Hadrian's reported repairs undertaken in A.D. 121–2. According to the *SHA*, when the emperor visited Tarraco in the winter of that year he restored the *aedes Augusti* at his own expense: *post haec Hispanias petiit et Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumpto sua aedem Augusti restituit* (*Hadr.* 12, 3). That the structure in question was of provincial status seems firmly supported by the epigraphical evidence.[60] An inscribed pedestal found in the zone of the provincial forum—that is, the middle level of the triple-tiered enclave—records the *cursus* of C. Calpurnius Flaccus, who on conclusion of his term of office had been given a statue by the colony of Tarraco in accordance with the decree of the decurions; the costs of this distinction Flaccus waived personally:

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[60] Fishwick, Temple of Augustus (1999) 132–3, cf. 121.

> *C(aio) Calpurnio | P(ubli) f(ilio) Quir(ina tribu) Flacco | flam(ini) p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris) | curatori templi | praef(ecto) murorum | col(onia) Tarr(aconensium) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). | C(aius) Calpurnius Flaccus | honorem accepit | impensam remisit* (*RIT* 264)

There seems no reason to doubt that the pedestal is in its proper place along with numerous other statues to past provincial priests, including a handful on the upper level to which they may have been removed from the middle terrace.[61] More particularly, there is no reason to suppose it can have been removed from the colonial forum in the way, for example, that J. Ruiz de Arbulo has argued with regard to *RIT* 349: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 30, 353–4, none of which refers to a provincial priest.[62] The bulk of the statues on the middle terrace were erected to provincial priests by the province in recognition of their service, but the provincial council similarly honoured other deserving individuals and it seems clear that outsiders also were free to erect statues to provincial priests or other persons of distinction (priestesses, prominent provincials) on what was evidently a "representation" plaza set aside for the provincial aristocracy.[63]

Before holding the priesthood Flaccus had served as *curator templi* and *praefectus murorum*, both extraordinary posts which might even have been held contemporaneously. The prefecture of the town walls goes far to explaining why the colony of Tarraco honoured this provincial priest with a statue in the provincial enclosure but the curatorship of the temple raises an issue central to the present discussion. Given the fact that the statue looks to have been originally erected on the middle terrace and not moved there from elsewhere, the circumstance that the building is not named surely implies that its identity was obvious. In that case Flaccus can only have been in charge of repairs and upkeep of the enormous temple on the uppermost level of the precinct, looming immediately above the "representation" area.[64] If some other structure were meant, the building would surely have been identified to avoid confusion, just as the Capitolium is mentioned in the case of a similar *cura* (*RIT* 922: *curator* [*C*]*apitoli*). That this inference is correct looks further supported by the rough date of Flaccus' office. On G. Alföldy's analysis (*ad RIT* 264) the *curator* may be none other than the Calpurnius Flaccus mentioned by Pliny (*Ep.* 5, 2), the father of the C. Calpurnius Flaccus who was proconsular governor of Cyprus in 123 and suffect consul *ca.* 124. His flaminate, before which he was *curator templi* and *praefectus murorum*, can therefore be placed in the first quarter of the second century A.D. More to the point, both posts were concerned with renovations, so can each be brought into relation with Hadrian's visit in A.D. 121–2. If the emperor supported the costs of repairs that were in progress or had recently been carried out by Flaccus, he will have been acting in line with similar projects he supported elswhere in his travels, notably the construction of the provincial temple of Tres Galliae (above, pp. 182–5). Alföldy suggests that the priesthood might have actually coincided with Hadrian's visit, though tenure shortly afterwards would be equally possible. Whatever the precise date, everything suggests that the temple which Flaccus oversaw was the *aedes Augusti* mentioned by the *SHA*. Comparison with Tacitus' reference in *Ann.* 1, 78 shows, however, that the temple which Hadrian renovated must be the same structure as that for which the embassy of the Spaniards received permission in A.D. 15. Otherwise one would have to suppose the existence of two "Temples of Augustus", which no-one would imagine. It follows that the temple to which the literary sources refer must be that within the *temenos* on the upper level of the provincial sanctuary—therefore a provincial structure, the temple of Hispania citerior.

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[61] For a detailed picture see Alföldy (1973) 4–10. See further Vol. III, 2, 81 with n. 14.

[62] Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 135.

[63] See further Vol. III, 3, 31–3.

ii. The Provincial Priesthood

As in the Flavian era, regulations comparable to those incorporated in the Lex Narbonensis continued to be observed under the Antonines with a growing array of statues in honour of past priests of the province, almost all set up by the council on the middle level of the provincial enclave.[65] These list as a rule the *cursus* of the honoree including his flaminate, while omitting the year of office, but an innovation in this period is to resume the list of a priest's earlier offices by the comprehensive formula *omnibus honoribus in re publica functus* or similar. Since this formula seems to take hold about the time of Hadrian,[66] it can be used for purposes of dating within the general period A.D. 120–88, at which point evidence comes virtually to an end. A further epigraphical innovation beginning in this case under Trajan is occasionally to give the name of the dedicator *p. H. c.* at the beginning of the text rather than the end.[67]

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[64] For the curatorship of a temple see Vol. I, 2, 247, suggesting that Flaccus will have been appointed by the provincial council.

[65] Vol. III, 2, 74–82.

The most significant development of the period, however, is the increasing cost of holding provincial office, particularly in regard to the public entertainment the incumbent was expected to provide. How expensive spectacles had become is clear, for example, from the *s.c. de sumptibus ludorum gladiatoriorum minuendis* passed *ca.* A.D. 176, regulating the purchase of gladiators and the daily apportionment of combats; a copy of this decree has been preserved at Italica in the neighbouring province of Baetica.[68] It might also be suggested that, whereas Hadrian is said to have restored the "Temple of Augustus" at Tarraco *sumpto suo* in the winter of A.D. 121–2 (*SHA, Hadr.* 12, 3), the reported repair of the same structure by Septimius Severus, *legatus iuridicus* at Tarraco *ca.* A.D. 178–81 (*Sept.* 3, 4),[69] must, if factual, have placed an unwelcome burden on the local elite, including members of the council and the high priest; similar costs had contributed to the revolution of Boudicca in Britain in A.D. 60. Perhaps, then, the financial load of the provincial priesthood coupled with apathy was by now taking its toll, as mirrored not only in the ultimate cessation of statues to outgoing priests but also in the circumstance that priests cease to orginate from the wealthier coastal cities of East Spain and come increasingly from less well known centres of the interior and the north-west.[70] Against this background it is striking that under Commodus or Septimius Severus the council of Hither Spain dedicated on the provincial *forum* an honorific statue to M. Iulius Adoptivus, son of M. Iulius Serenianus Adoptivus, provincial priest and most deserving patron of the province, *ob prae*[*ci*]*pu*[*am*] *patri*[*s eius*] *liberalita*[*tem*] (*RIT* 285).

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[66] Wierschowski (1986) 289–94; Alföldy (1973) 19.

[67] Vol. III, 2, 85.

[68] Vol. II, 1, 580 (*minuendis* is misprinted).

[69] Vol. I, 1, 150 with n. 5; Alföldy (1969) 88–9.

[70] Vol. III, 2, 87–88.

iii. The Provincial Cult

As throughout the history of the provincial cult of Hither Spain, our sole clue to the content of the provincial cult is provided by the titles of provincial priests. The only point of note in the Antonine period is that the complete form *flamen Romae Divorum et Augustorum provinciae Hispaniae citerioris* first occurs under Hadrian (*AE*, 1990, 653), confirming what is already clear from abbreviated titles, namely that the provincial cult was addressed from the Flavian period onwards to Roma, the living emperor and deified, deceased personages. Other variants of the title, particularly the short form *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, continue intermittently down to *ca.* A.D. 180, when evidence gives out.

Africa Proconsularis

The key development under the Antonines is a modification in the title of the provincial priest, which changes from *flamen* to *sacerdos*, a switch in terminology paralleled elsewhere only in Sardinia. That the original term for the provincial priest was *flamen* is clear from the epitaph of C. Caecilius Gallus (*ILAlg* 2, 36, 71), whose title *flamen provinciae* is doubtless abbreviated in a laconic text.[71] Apparently the term was still in use at Bulla Regia in year 40 of the era (= A.D. 110/112) as recorded in the inscription of L. Iulius Cerealis (*ILAfr* 458 + *AE*, 1964, 177), who served as *flamen Aug. provinciae Afric. anni xxxx*. However, the priesthood of C. Otidius Iovinus (*CIL* 8, 14611), his predecessor in year 39 of the era (A.D. 109/111), is given at Simitthus as *sacerdos provinc. Afric. anni xxxviiii*. The discrepancy may be explained either by uncertainty during a period of transition or by retrospective alteration of the old title to conform with the new term that had come into use by the time the inscription was drafted.[72] Local rivalry between neighbouring towns might be a further element in the picture here, but on any explanation there can be no doubt that the change took place late under Trajan.[73] The occurrence of *sacerdotalis* in contrast is restricted to later epigraphical records when at least four priesthoods, one quarter of the known total, attest the title from about the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[74] The change of wording implies that the past incumbent retained his rank, so can be compared to the increasing use of such terms as *IIviralis, aedilicius, flaminalis*, also the title *flamen perpetuus*, which is particularly widespread in Roman Africa.[75] Presumably, then, the *sacerdotalis* retained his seat on the provincial council as provided in *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*:

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[71] So Duncan-Jones (1968) 152, 155.

[72] For a similar example of retrospective alteration of the priestly title see the inscription of C. Iulius Maximus, who refers to his greatgrandfather Q. Iulius ... as *sacer*]*dotalis provin*[*ciae* (*AE*, 1916, no. 13). This is presumably the same individual as C. Iulius Crescens, *flamen Aug. provinciae Africae* (*AE*, 1949, 40), whose *praenomen* C. will in that case be erroneously recorded as Q. (cf. *PIR* 4, 205, no. 284). For brief discussion see Duncan-Jones (1968) 156.

[73] There is a misprint in Pflaum (1968) 176, no. 4, where the priesthood of C. Iulius

> 13. [... *Eidem*]
>
> 14. [*i*]*n curia sua et concilio provinciae Narbonensis inter sui ordinis secundum lẹ*[...35...]
>
> 15. *sententiae dicendae signandique ius esto;* ...
>
> (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964, lines 13–15)[76]

If the change to *sacerdotalis* is a reflection of social change in the period, both *flamen* and *sacerdos* were plainly linked in other provinces with the content of the cult. It was demonstrated above that *flamen* was in origin associated with the cult of deified members of the imperial house at a temple, whereas *sacerdos* looks to have been the term when the cult of Roma and the living emperor centred on an altar.[77] In Africa *flamen Aug.* (*AE*, 1949, 40; *ILAfr* 458 + *AE*, 1964, 177), the only version of the title that gives any clue to the content of provincial ruler cult, has customarily been completed *flamen Aug(usti)*,[78] whereas in Hither Spain the common forms *flamen Augustorum / divorum Augustorum / Romae, Divorum et Augustorum* and variants, along with the title *flamen Divorum Augustorum* in Baetica and *flamen Divorum Augustorum* in Sardinia, point to the inclusion of the living emperor with the deified dead.[79] These forms, in conjunction with the original association of *flamen*, strongly suggest that

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Crescens should be dated "avant 112" not "après 112". The error is followed by Bassignano (1974) 260, where C. Iulius Crescens is dated "poco dopo l'anno 100 o forse dopo il 112."

[74] Vol. III, 2, 179, 189, 202–204.

[75] Duncan-Jones (1968) 153; Pflaum (1976) 154–6.

[76] Deininger (1965) 108–9, 154; Williamson (1987) 186. For *sacerdotales* of Africa in the later empire see Chastagnol (1988).

[77] Vol. I, 1, 165–7; cf. above, p. 146.

[78] So Duncan-Jones (1968) 152. Pailler (1989) 181, suggests *Aug(ustalis)*, which looks to be typical of earlier titles in Spain, though occuring sporadically later, notably in *CIL* 2, 3271 (time of Domitian?). See Vol. I, 164; I, 2, 221–9; further Fishwick, Calpurnius (1998) 76.

[79] Fishwick (1984); Vol. I, 2, 269–81. In Hispania citerior Roma is also included.

in Africa too *flamen Aug(ustorum)* was more probably intended in abbreviated forms of the provincial priestly titulature, though *flamen Aug(ustalis)* would not be impossible (above, p. 131). Certainly the inclusion of the *divi* would be understandable when the civic cult of individual *divi* was well established long before Vespasian.[80]

By the same token the switch to *sacerdos* might be thought to signal the inclusion of Roma in the cult, yet evidence for the goddess is extremely slight in Africa, no doubt because Augustus never visited the continent himself (Suet., *Aug.* 47).[81] Why in that case the official title changed from *flamen* to *sacerdos* a few years before the end of Trajan's rule is not immediately apparent, when the reign is not known for any direct intervention of this sort in Africa.[82] The frequency of the term *flamen* in Africa could suggest that, if only by virtue of its relative rarity, *sacerdos* became the more prestigious title, but beyond this superficial distinction in usage Hirschfeld noted that *sacerdotia* can be more important than *flamonia* in municipal cult.[83] In particular *sacerdotes* served the cult of Urbs Roma / Urbs Roma Aeterna when it was introduced by Hadrian a decade later,[84] above all *sacerdos* was the term for the priesthood of the Cereres.[85] As the seat of the provincial cult of the emperor was likewise at Carthage and the system of dating provincial priesthoods will in all likelihood have been modelled on that already used there in the cult of the Cereres, it seems likely enough that the title *sacerdos* similarly overlapped from a cult which was itself "provincial" in the sense that it reached throughout the Carthaginian *pertica.* As so often is the case, new epigraphical discoveries could put a different complexion on the problem. For the moment at any rate the change from *flamen* to *sacerdos* looks a purely formal modification, a local development entirely attributable to local custom.[86] That features of the Carthaginian cult of the Cereres should have been incorporated into the provincial ruler cult would be the more understandable if the priest of the province was in fact a member of the local council of Carthage. A parallel situation at Narbo is attested by line 4 of the Lex Narbonensis:

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[80] Bassignano (1974) 424–5.

[81] Vol. I, 2, 265–6., cf. Vol. II, 1, 438. Nor did Augustus visit Sardinia, where there is likewise no trace of Roma at the provincial level and the provincial title similarly changes from *flamen* to *sacerdos.*

[82] Fishwick (1978) 1235–6.

[83] Duncan-Jones (1968) 153, n. 13, citing Hirschfeld (1866) 53.

[84] Vol. I, 2, 356–7, 360.

[85] Fishwick, Cereres (1996) 14–33 with refs.

[86] For a similar shift in Sardinia from *flamen* to *sacerdos*, as implied by the later term *sacerdotalis* (*CIL* 10, 7518, 7917) see below, pp. 193–4.

> [.35.]*ui in decurionibus senatuve* [*sententiae dicendae signandique* ...12...].[87]

Sardinia

The only other province to register a shift in the priestly title is Sardinia. As we have seen (above, p. 133), an inscription at the provincial capital of Carales records that Q. Gabinius Receptus held the office of *flamen Divor(um) Aug(ustorum)*, to which he had been appointed *ex consensu pr*[*o*]*vin(ciae)* (*CIL* 10, 7599). In contrast a second or early third century text at Sulci notes that in addition to various municipal offices L. Cornelius Marcellus was both "adlected" to the five decuries of judges and belonged *inter sa*[*c*]*erdotales prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)* (*CIL* 10, 7518; Pl. 15), the title appropriate to a past holder of the provincial priesthood. Similarly a record at Cornus, dated by the uncertain names of consuls to some point in the third century, attests that in his capacity of *sac*[*er*]*d(otalis) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)* M. Cominius Crescens (as he was probably called) had been "adlected" by the most illustrious *ordo* of Carales with the consent of the province of Sardinia, in other words the provincial *concilium* (*CIL* 10, 7917; Pl. 16).[88] Here again the title *sacerdotalis* confirms that the incumbent provincial priest will have been styled *sacerdos.*

When exactly the change from *flamen* to *sacerdos* took place is uncertain but reappraisal of a defective text found at Bosa Vetus suggests at least a *terminus post* (*CIL* 10, 7940; Pl. 17). As argued in detail earlier (above, pp. 154–8), the damaged stone looks to have been originally inscribed:

> [... *sac(erdos)*] | *Urb(is) Rom(ae), flam(en) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae), ad* | [*le*]*c*-[*t*]*u*[*s ab*] *splendidiss(imo)* [*o*]*rd(ine) Ka* | [*ralit(anorum)?* ...] *s*[*t*]*udiis* [*populi ex consensu prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)?*

On this reading the Bosa record holds several points of historical interest. In the first place it records a new priest of Urbs Roma who can be added to the handful of similar office-holders already known;[89] the priestly title in this case is *sacerdos urbis Romae.* Secondly, we have a further provincial priest of Sardinia, the second known incumbent to be styled *flamen*. Unlike the formula of Q. Gabinius Receptus, however, the title recorded at Bosa gives no indication of the content of the provincial cult, so may be compared in this respect with, for example, the term *flamen provinciae* at Rusicade in Africa Proconsularis.[90] The important point for present purposes is that the Bosa text plainly confirms what had been generally assumed previously, namely that the change of title in Sardinia followed a similar modification in Proconsularis, which could very well have led the way, given the cultural ties that traditionally linked the two provinces. The move from *flamen* to *sacerdos* in Proconsularis took place late under Trajan,[91] whereas Sardinia must have followed suit at a subsequent date if the honoree at Bosa held the provincial priesthood after serving as *sacerdos* of Urbs Roma, an office instituted at Rome in A.D. 121: the *cursus* is plainly give in forward order if admission to the *ordo* of Carales is a consequence of holding the provincial flaminate. The circumstance that the title of the new priest of Urbs Roma was *sacerdos* may even have been an additional factor behind the eventual decision to replace *flamen* by *sacerdos* at the provincial level, in which case the inscription is more probably Hadrianic than later, though the text provides no *terminus ante*.

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[87] Williamson (1987) 181–2.

[88] Fishwick, *Sacerdotalis* (1997) 449–59.

[89] Vol. I, 2, 356–7.

As for the content of the worship, the sole basis for discussion remains the Carales text, which we have seen to confirm that the cult originally focussed on the living emperor in conjunction with the deified deceased. Nothing goes to show that any change in the nature of the cult lies behind the Antonine change in title to *sacerdos*, which as in Proconsularis looks to have been a purely formal modification influenced entirely by parochial considerations.

Other Provinces

Evidence from other provinces is unhelpful. In Narbonensis as in Mauretania Caesariensis and the Maritime Alps surviving inscriptions give only the title *flamen* along with mention of the province.[92] Records occur more plentifully in Baetica but the variant titles *flamen / flamen Aug(ustorum) / flamen Divorum Augustorum / flaminalis /* with the name of the province confirm only that the content of the cult remained the same as in the Flavian period.[93] The one exception to this general picture is the inscription of the priestess Quintia Flaccina, which may be Antonine rather than Flavian and confirms that the priestess tended the cult of deified females (*AE*, 1966, 183; 1972, 270–1). By and large, therefore, there are no developments to register in the established cults of older provinces, in all of which worship of the living emperor along with the deified dead had become the norm by the second century; in Tres Galliae and Hipania citerior, but not apparently elsewhere, Roma was also included.[94] The newly established cults of the Danube provinces diverge sharply from this overall trend in attesting only the cult of the living emperor to the exclusion of both Roma and the *divi / divae*.

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[90] *CIL* 8, 7986–7. For *sacerdos / sacerdotalis provinciae Africae* see most recently Illuminati (1977) 263–71 with list of priests.

[91] Vol. I, 2, 264–5.

[92] For Antonine texts in Gallia Narbonensis (5), Mauretania Caseariensis (1?) and the Alpes Maritimae (2) see Vol. III, 2. 183–4, 206, 252.

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[93] Vol. III, 2, 223–4, 242–4. For the possible construction of a provincial temple at Corduba, following the visit of Hadrian in A.D. 122, see Vol. III, 3, 88, n. 45.

[94] Vol. I, 1, 93.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE AFTERMATH OF REVOLUTION (A.D. 193–284)

The final phase in the evolution of provincial ruler cult runs from the advent of the Severi down to the period of anarchy, at which stage evidence virtually disappears. Only the opening decades of the period provide substantial testimony relevant to the present discussion. The central event is a radical reform of the cult of Tres Galliae as a result of which the living emperor(s) became the focus of a new form of worship centred once more on the great altar; this is now defined as near (*ad / apud*) the federal temple, at which Roma and the combined living dead *Augusti* continued to receive cult as before. The abrupt switch of emphasis to the reigning emperor(s) is clearly symptomatic of the revolutionary events that had led to the accession of the Severi. No such development is observable in Hither Spain, where evidence for provincial priests had already begun to fade, but there are later traces of the council, so reason to infer that the provincial cult limped on, even if past its hey-day. Confiscation and economic decline are clearly an important part of the picture at Tarraco. No evidence has survived in Lusitania but a surprising number of Severan texts occur in Baetica, almost half the total transmitted from antiquity. Though no change is recorded in the content of the cult, expressions of loyal support for the regime on the part of the provincial council reflect the same political nervousness that lies behind comparable developments at Lugdunum and Tarraco. As with a single text in Baetica, a text from Narbo focusses on the reigning emperors, in this case a *taurobolium* performed by the provincial priest for the welfare of Septimius Severus and Carcalla. Other than that, evidence from the older provinces is restricted to a single mention of a third-century priest in Sardinia.

As could be expected after their late institution, the provincial cults of the Danube provinces are comparatively rich in traces from the Severan era and later. Like other *concilia* of the period, the council of Dacia was careful to put on record its loyalty to the ruler, while here as in the Pannoniae and Lower Moesia the provincial worship continued to focus on the living emperor, its central monument an altar very much as at Lugdunum. The interesting feature that now emerges is that, whereas by the mid-second century the majority of provincial cults were largely uniform in worshipping living and dead emperors in combination, by the third century the pendulum had swung the other way and the emphasis was once again on the living ruler—though no longer in company with Roma as in the earlier period from Augustus to Hadrian. Revolution, insecurity and hard times go far to explaining the profound change of direction.

This dramatic shift conforms closely with contemporary ideas on the exalted status of the ruler.[1] As the main developments of the Severan period have been sketched earlier, it will be sufficient to recall that coins, inscriptions and bas-reliefs record the association, assimilation or outright identification of the emperor and his house with a panorama of divinities, in particular Jupiter, Hecules and Bacchus, and Jupiter-Serapis. Increasingly, the imperial family is portrayed in the company of the gods or deified abstractions, their own attitudes and gestures reminiscent of individual deities. Often the sheer size of the emperor's likeness emphasizes the superhuman status of a ruler whose predestined title to the throne was written in the stars. The imperial cult was naturally a key prop of official ideology. On the conservative side the emperor promoted the cult of his own Virtues and importance still attached to the *divi*, as shown by Severus' fictitious adoption as the son of Marcus Aurelius (cf. *CIL* 8, 9317), the deification of Pertinax, and the rehabilitation and deification of Commodus. At the other extreme court ceremonial became increasingly elaborate with the introduction of the title *dominus noster*, the qualification of any activity of the emperor as "divine", and the widespread use of extravagant epithets and bombastic language. The same trend appears in the provinces where the epigraphical record attests a new emphasis on the *domus divina* and the emperor's *numen*, also the appearance of a new formula *devotus numini maiestatique eius* (*DNMQE*). The end result was that the Roman emperor stood appreciably closer to the gods than was ever the case before, a development documented *par excellence* at Lugdunum and reflected everywhere in the general emphasis of imperial cult on the living ruler(s).

With the death of Septimius Severus evidence becomes increasingly elusive. Caracalla, who openly styled himself *numen praesens*, was nevertheless accorded deification and his successors Elagabalus and Alexander Severus took care to be styled his successors in official titulature. But, whereas Pertinax and Commodus, the "brother" of Severus, had each been given a *flamen*, the practice of naming a *flamen* for each consecrated ruler was apparently discontinued from the beginning of the third century; in its place the *sodales Antoniniani* now developed into a more general priesthood serving the Palatine *templum divorum*. By far the most significant development of the period, however, is the increasing orientalization of the cult, which reached its peak in the grotesque reign of Elagabalus, *sacerdos amplissimus dei Invicti Solis Elagabli*. Whether or not there was a modest reaction under Alexander Severus (Herod. 6, 1, 3), who reputedly had a devotion to the best of the *divi* (*SHA*, *Sev. Alex.*, 29, 2; cf. 31. 5), his reign is notable for the grandiloquent titles he gave himself and his consort Julia Mammaea, and his eventual murder by the troops (which proved no bar to deification) set the stage for the disastrous period of military anarchy.[2]

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[1] Fishwick (1978) 1243–4; Vol. I, 2, 335–47; Clauss (1999) 152–88 (to be used with caution).

Tres Galliae

We have seen that a significant juncture in the evolution of the provincial cult of Tres Galliae can be dated with strong probability to the reign of Hadrian, at which point the content of the worship was expanded to include deified emperors and a federal temple constructed in the immediate vicinity of the altar (above, pp. 186–8). As mention of the altar temporarily disappears from the titles of provincial priests,[3] it seems clear that the principal monument at the Lugdunum sanctuary was now the temple, which on the evidence of the surviving inscriptions served the combined cult of Roma and the *Augusti*: that is, the living emperor(s) with the deified dead. This state of affairs continued until the last decade of the second century, when the title of the priest suddenly changed to an abbreviated form of *sacerdos ad aram Caesaris nostri / Caesarum nostrorum apud templum Romae et Augustorum*. Evidently the altar had regained its ancient status as the nodal point of a new version of the federal cult, one central to the fortunes of the Severi.[4]

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[2] For the subsequent development see in general Christol (1980).

[3] See the list of priests of Tres Galliae in Vol. III, 2, 66–77.

[4] Fishwick (1978) 1245–9; Vol. II, I, 317–50.

As the pertinent records have already been considered in detail, it will be sufficient to list only the relevant part of each text in the emended version proposed by earlier analysis:

A *Tib(erio) Antistio Faust | i fil(io) Quirina Marci | ano ... secun | dum mandata impp(eratorum) do | minor(um) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum) inte | gerrim(o) abstinentissimo | que procur(atori) tres provinc(iae) | Galliae primo umquam | eq(uiti) R(omano) a censibus accipi | endis ad aram Caesa | rum statuam equestrem | ponendam censu | erunt.* CIL 13, 1680; Vol. I, 2, 318, Pl. LXVIIIa: A.D. 198–210

B *C. Ulatt[io Ulatti] | Prisci fi[l(io) ...] | sacerdo[ti ad aram] | Caess(arum) n[n(ostrorum) apud templ(um)] | Romae [et Aug(ustorum) / Augg(ustorum) inter] | conflu[entes Araris] | et Rhod[ani ... .*
CIL 13, 1712; Vol. I, 2, 318–20, Pl. LXVIIIb: A.D. 198–210

C *... [sa]cerdoti apud ar[am] | Cae[sar]um | [a]d templum Rom[ae] | [e]t Augustoru[m] | [tres p]rovinc(iae) G[alliae] / [trium p]rovinc(iarum) G[alliarum].*
CIL 13, 11174; Vol. I, 2, 320–1, Pl. LXIXa: A.D. 198–211

D *...]o Tauro | [—]filio | ... sacerd]oti ad | [aram Caess(arum) nn(ostrorum) apud templ(um) Rom(ae)] et Augg(ustorum)? | [inter confluen]tes Arar(is) | [et Rhod(ani) ... .* *CIL* 13, 1710; Vol. I, 2, 321–2, Pl. LXIXb: A.D. 198–210

E *C. Catul[l]io | Decimi[n]o | [–]tuti Catullin[i] fil(io) | Tricassin(o) ... sac[e]rd(oti) | ad templ(um) Rom[(ae) et] | Auggg(ustorum) III (trium) prov(inciarum) [G]all(iarum) ... .*
CIL 13, 1691a+b; Vol. I, 2, 322–3, Pl. LXVa: A.D. 210–1

F *L. Osidio [—] | Quieti filio [—] | Nervio | ... sa[cerdoti] | ad aram Caes(aris) n(ostri) [apud tem] | plum Romae et [August(orum) / Augustor(um) in] | ter confluen[tes Araris] | et Rhoda[ni] | ... .*
CIL 13, 1702; Vol. I, 2, 323, Pl. LXXa: A.D. 212–17(?)

G *]M. Bucc[oni —fil(io)] | Galer[ia (tribu) —] | ... funct[i sacerdotis ad aram] | Caes(aris) n(ostri) tri[um provinciarum] | Galliaru[m ... .*
Fishwick, Priesthood (1996); Vol. I, 2, 323–4, Pl. LXXb: A.D. 212–17?

H *... cui | Divus Aurel(ius) Antoninus | centenariam procuration(em) | prov(inciae) Hadrymetinae dedit | sacerdoti ad aram Caes(aris) n(ostri) [apud templum Rom(ae) et Aug(ustorum)? ... .*
CIL 13, 1684a; Vol. I, 2, 324–5, Pl. LXXI: A.D. 218–35?

i. The Altar of the Caesar(s)

A preliminary question concerns the identification of the Caesar(s). We have already noted that the term Caesar cannot mean the heir to the throne. All other considerations aside, technical difficulties with the inscriptions exclude such a possibility.[5] For one thing three distinct priesthoods (F, G, H) are defined as *ad aram Caes(aris) n(ostri)*, yet the only period when there could have been the cult of a single Caesar at Lugdunum was in the immediate aftermath of the defeat of Clodius Albinus, the eleven months from late February, A.D. 197, to 28th January, A.D. 198, when Caracalla was made Augustus and Geta Caesar. For another we have at least two records which attest multiple Caesars (B, C, cf. D?), yet if Caracalla became Augustus at the same time as Geta was made Caesar, there never was a time when both were simply Caesars. It follows that *Caesar* must refer to one of the Severi, *Caesares* to Septimius Severus and Caracalla; a reference to three Caesars—*Caess.*—is not preserved in the epigraphical record, though A and C give the plural *Caesarum.*

A second problem that now results concerns the interpretation of references to a single Caesar. As has recently become clear, the date at which Caracalla was included in the cult alongside his father is implicit in inscription A, recording that Tiberius Antistius Marcianus was the first Roman knight to whom the Three Gauls voted an equestrian statue *a censibus accipiendis.*[6] Mention of the two *Augusti* in the text means that the census can only be that of A.D. 197/8, ordered just after the defeat of Clodius Albinus at Lugdunum, in which case the council presumably decided on the statue at its meeting held in the following August of A.D. 198. The monument should therefore have been in existence by late 198 or early 199, a date at which the cult *ad aram* was already addressed to multiple Caesars. Since there will have been insufficient time for a single priesthood before Caracalla became joint Augustus, all references to a single Augustus must consequently refer to the sole rule of Caracalla or one of his successors. Document H in particular looks to be placed under Elagabalus or Alexander Severus by the circumstance that the priest had earlier been appointed procurator of the "province" of Hadrimetina by Divus Aurelius Antoninus—certainly Caracalla rather than Marcus Aurelius. Theoretically the *sac-*

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[5] Vol. I, 2, 330–2.

[6] Vol. I, 2, 332–3 with refs.

erdotium could have been served at the very end of Caracalla's reign and the text drafted after a (considerable) interval, by which time the deceased Caracalla had been deified, but this looks most unlikely. As for the problematic omission of any reference to the altar of the Caesars in E, it remains an outside possibility that the cult at the altar was temporarily dropped, conceivably in an attempt to lessen friction between the brothers and estabish concord.[7] The likeliest answer is nevertheless that this is simply an elliptical formula in which mention of the altar has for some reason dropped out. It may be noted in this regard that, while the formula *Caesss.* would have reflected the fact that Septimius and his two sons were equal rulers, only the title Augustus would plainly indicate that Geta had now been elevated to the rank of emperor. Considerations of this kind may explain why the text refers to the temple rather than the altar, though it should be stressed that the formula *Auggg.*, though advertising the presence of three living *Augusti*, in no way excludes deceased rulers.

In conclusion an additional text can be brought to bear. It now seems clear that in the great Vieux inscription the defective formula of the provincial priesthood held by T. Sennius Sollemnis *ca.* A.D. 220 must have included a reference to the cult of the single Caesar *ad aram*—that is, unless the title recorded was simply *sacerdos*.[8] The relevant part of this extensive record may in this case have read:

> *Sacerdo*[*s*] | [*ad aram Caes(aris) n(ostri) III (trium) prov(inciarum) Gall(iarum)* . . . .
>
> *CIL* 13, 3162 = *ILTG* 341; Vol. I, 2, 361–6, Pls. LXXII-III: *ca.* A.D. 220

ii. The Cult *ad aram*

The principal features of the unprecedented worship of the Caesar(s) have been elaborated in previous discussion.[9] In contrast to the divine associations of Augustus, the name Caesar stresses the private, personal character of the emperor as a man rather than a ruler, an implication reinforced by the qualification *noster* with its overtones of servility. In paying cult to the emperor in his new idiom, therefore, the status of the worshipper is degraded to the point where he becomes, as it were, the servile member of a household dominated by its *paterfamilias*. The emotional content of the worship is here intensified beyond anything one finds before. The new relationship between emperor and subject is further defined in religious terms. In the earliest phase of the federal cult the altar had been qualified by the topographical phrase *inter confluentes Araris et Rhodani* vel sim.; only with the Hadrianic inclusion of the *divi* was the altar (in the single inscription *CIL* 13, 1718 known only from the manuscript tradition) or more frequently the temple linked with Roma and the *Augusti* by the genitive of possession. Now, however, the cult is paid *ad aram Caesaris nostri / Caesarum nostrorum.* Just as a god possesses an altar or a temple, so the Altar of the Three Gauls belongs to the Caesar(s) *ut deis.* Any doubt of the character of the new cult, finally, is resolved by the glaring omission of Roma, the goddess who until now had retained her place beside the emperor(s) at the altar or the temple but is henceforth confined to the temple, where she continued to be worshipped in company with the living and dead *Augusti.* All this emphasizes the extremist nature of a cult in which the Severi are accorded unqualified divinity in a way that goes far beyond the limits set by Augustus but is directly in line with contemporary ideas on the nearness of the ruler to the gods (above, p. 198).

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[7] Fishwick (1978) 1248–9; Vol. I, 2, 349.

[8] Vol. I, 2, 361–6.

[9] Vol. I, 2, 333–5.

iii. Historical Context

The cult of the reigning Caesar(s) at the federal altar is unique in the western empire. Why so extremist a form of worship should be found precisely here but nowhere else is plainly to be explained in terms of the political history of the period and the personal fortunes of the Severi themselves.[10] For despite their close personal associations with Lugdunum the town had declared for Clodius Albinus, and his defeat was the signal for the destruction of the city and the systematic extermination of his followers. Similar repressive measures were enforced at Tarraco, though here no attempt was made to restructure a provincial cult already past its prime (below). In contrast the sanctuary by Lugdunum was the ideal centre for a reformed worship that would serve the purposes of the new regime. When precisely the cult of the Caesar(s) was founded is not revealed by the inscriptions, though it was evidently in place by late A.D. 198 or early 199 (above, p. 201). In any event, whether founded in the immediate aftermath of the victory of February A.D. 197 or, more likely, following the nomination of Caracalla as Augustus on 28th February, A.D. 198, the cult was unmistakably a repressive measure imposed by the victor at the headquarters of a defeated enemy—where Septimius Severus had in practice won the empire.

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[10] Vol. I, 2, 347–9.

Hispania citerior

We have seen that a cheapening of the provincial flaminate was well under way by the time the governor of Hither Spain, L. Novius Rufus (cf. *RIT* 143), decided to support the doomed cause of Clodius Albinus.[11] The price of his misjudgement was paid not only by himself and forty senators, but also the provincial élite, who suffered at the hands of Severus' general T. Claudius Candidus, *ca.* A.D. 197–9,[12] and from the census and confiscations carried out under the military controls imposed by his successor, Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, *ca.* A.D. 202–5 (SHA, *Sev.* 12).[13] With priestly statues already on the wane by A.D. 170/180, it is difficult to see their disappearance as a repressive measure of the new regime, but the historical context could explain why honorific statues set up by the city are increasingly re-used earlier monuments, a sure sign of economic decline after the Severan reprisals. Reaction to the changed circumstances can also be observed in the fact that, just as the inscriptions of *flamines* end, dedications to provincial governors including military personnel enjoy a boom, all a reflection of the new political realities. By and large the cessation of evidence seems to be related to the upheavals of 195/197. Ruiz de Arbulo has pointed out in this connection that the circus and amphitheatre, repaired under Macrinus and completed under Heliogabalus,[14] now became the stage where the public could be galvanized, whereas the municipal theatre was abandoned.[15]

How long the rites at the provincial centre endured is unclear, though one would have thought that continuation of the cult would have suited the political purposes of the Severi. An early(?) third-century trace of the council is at any rate preserved in an honorific inscription explicitly set up by the *concilium* (rather than the province) of Hither Spain to the senator L. Septimius Mannus (*RIT* 146; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 37), and to this can be added a third-century record of the provincial patron M. Bombius Rusticus (*RIT* 156). What is certain is that there is nothing at Tarraco to match the new cult of the Caesar(s) *ad aram*, which was plainly installed at Lugdunum in the aftermath of the Severan triumph. In its stead we have the plaque from what looks to have been a colossal statue or honorific column of Caracalla, dedicated in A.D. 217 on the municipal forum of Tarraco by the *col(onia) Iul(ia) Urbs Tr[iumphalis] Tarr(aco) devotissima [num(ini) eius]* (*RIT* 83). In any event Hispania citerior was divided under Caracalla into two provinces, Hispania nova citerior and Callaecia, as the inscription of C. Servilius Diodorus, *proc(urator) CC provinciarum Hispaniar(um) citerioris et superioris* (A.D. 227; Lavinium) now confirms.[16] That this event, harbinger of the future division under Diocletian, provided the coup de grace is not in evidence but with the creation of an upper province it seems unlikely that a provincial cult of Hispania citerior can have continued in anything like its former form or earlier vigour.[17]

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[11] Alföldy (1969) 42–3, 203; Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 104–13; *id.* (1998) 57.

[12] Alföldy (1969) 43–5, 194.

[13] Alföldy (1969) 47–8.

[14] Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 101, n. 31, 109 with n. 71 and refs. For the martyrdoms in the amphitheatre of Bishop Fructuosus and the two deacons Augurius and Eulogius, 21st January, A.D. 259, see Vol. I, 2, 281; Ruiz de Arbulo, *o.c.* 110 with n. 77.

[15] *Id.*, *o.c.* 108.

Baetica

Baetica is distinctive in that nearly half of its known provincial priesthoods belong to the Severan period or later; eight of these occur at Corduba, only three elsewhere.[18] The key features of the texts are best reserved for later discussion in detail[19] but it is of interest here to draw attention to two late dedications set up to the emperor by the province, in one instance according to the decree of the *concilium* (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 255: A.D. 245; *CIL* $2^2/7$, 259: A.D. 253–60; Vol. III, 2, Pls. 63–4). Taken together, these multiple expressions of loyalty by the provincial council provide telling commentary on the insecurity of the times[20] and are a phenomenon repeated in contemporary acts of fealty by the council of the Three Daciae (below, p. 208).

Otherwise the variant titles of the provincial priest confirm that in the Severan period the provincial cult continued to be addressed to the living emperor in company with the deified dead.[21] In one instance the formula *flamen Divo*[*r*]. [*Au*]*gg. provinc. Bae*[*tic*]. (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 292; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 67) shows the double G, perhaps an affirmation of the presence of multiple living emperors in the worship as at Narbo (below, p. 210). Two other points of interest, again best reserved for later discussion, are the occurrence of the rare form *flaminalis* to indicate a past provincial priest (*CIL* 2, 983; *CIL* $2^2/7$, 297: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 65; cf. *AE*, 1982, 520) and the idiosyncratic practice of dating by the term of the provincial priest (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 255, 259), a usage found elsewhere only in Dacia (*IDR* 3/2, 79: below, p. 208).

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[16] Alföldy, *Provincia*(2000) 7–27 (text at 8) *et passim.*

[17] For the later history of Tarraco see Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 109–13.

[18] *CIL* $2^2/7$, 221 (Vol. III, 2, Pl. 66), 255, 259, 292, 295, 296–7; *AE* (1996) 883; (Corduba); *CIL* $2^2/5$, 1171 (Astigi); *AE* (1974) 376; (Tomares?); *CIL* 2, 983 (Ogultunia?).

[19] Vol. III, 2, 219–23.

[20] See further in detail Vol. III, 2, 220–3.

Dacia

The bulk of inscriptions relevant to the provincial cult of Dacia belong to the third century, no doubt as a result of the expanding influence and importance of the provincial council. A votive plaque or altar at Sarmizegetusa(?) (*IDR* 3/2, 353) bears a fragmentary inscription recording an unknown past priest of the province who was perhaps a decurion at the municipalities of Porolissum and Tibiscum if not also of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, where the stone may have been found. These offices plainly date his provincial priesthood to the third century when Porolissum and Tibiscum came into existence.[22] At Apulum a large marble base set up by his slave(?) Rufinus honours P. Aelius Strenuus (*CIL* 3, 1209), a knight and provincial priest whose extensive municipal career probably dates from a few years after A.D. 200.[23] He was a contemporary of P. Aelius Antipater (*iun.*), a provincial priest commemorated in two inscriptions and assignable approximately to the first decades of the third century.[24] A marble altar or statue base records

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[21] For a list of provincial priests of Baetica see Vol. III, 2, 242–6.

[22] Ardevan (1998) 333. Daicoviciu, Dazien (1966) 11, n. 11, puts this text after the time of Severus Alexander; Lajos (1969) 31, n. 68, suggests a date after A.D. 193, probably in the third century.

[23] Ardevan (1998) *ibid.* n. 134; *id.* (1993) 234–5, arguing that, as the post of *conductor pascui, salinarum et commerciorum* is already attested in the second century, there is no reason not to place his career in the first two decades of the third century, before the reign of Severus Alexander. Daicoviciu, Dazien (1966) 13 prefers a date after Severus Alexander, Lajos (1969) *ibid.*, between A.D. 193 and 222.

[24] Ardevan (1998) 333, noting that his military career is contemporaneous with that of the equestrian P. Aelius Marcellus, so datable under Septimius Severus; cf. Piso, Epigraphica (XII) (1980) no. 3. Daicoviciu, *o.c.* 11–12, dates the altar set up by Onesimus after A.D. 222.

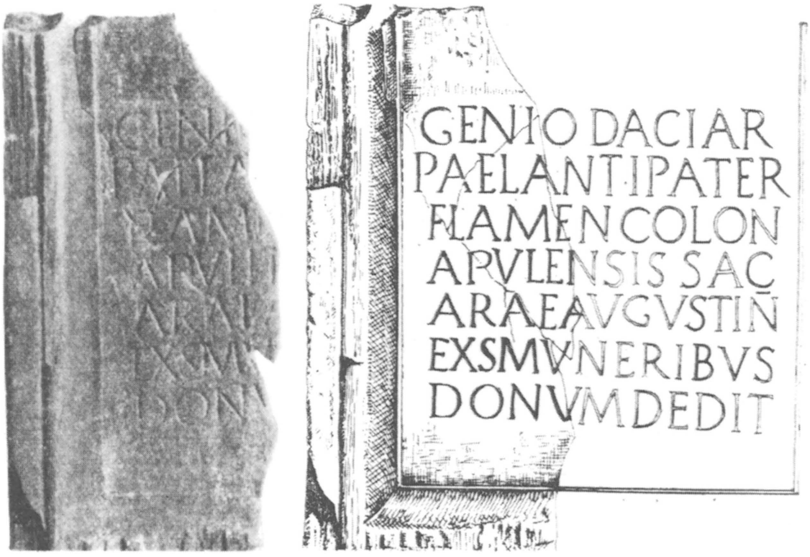

Plate 20. Inscription of P. Aelius Antipater (*iun.*).

a dedication, conceivably to the *numen* of an emperor whose name has been erased as well as to the Genius Daciarum, which Antipater set up in the provincial area just outside the limits of Sarmizegetusa (*IDR* 3/2, 217, Pl. 20),[25] while in a second text Onesimus the steward has paid his vow to I. O. M. Conservator on behalf of the *salus* of Antipater (*AE*, 1930, 8). At the head of a fragmentary list of veterans found at Potaissa, a bare entry in larger letters lists an unnamed past provincial priest, who presumably set up the list on his own account, perhaps as *tribunus angusticlavius* of the Legio V Macedonica (*CIL* 3, 7688). The fact that the name Aurelius appears throughout the record points to a date after the Constitutio Antoniniana of A.D. 212.[26] With this may be compared two votive inscriptions. The first was set up at Napoca to the (Matronae) Gesahenae by P. Aelius Maximus,[27] a provincial priest and knight as shown by his military service (*a militiis*); the sole indication of date is his title [*sacerdos a*]*rae Aug(usti) n(ostri)* [*corona(tus) Dac(iarum) I*]*II*, which presumably points to the early third century.[28] Of more significance is a dedication at Sarmizegetusa, which was set up by the *concilium* of Tres Daciae for the *salus* of Severus Alexander, whose name has been erased apparently along with that of the provincial governor Iasdius Domitianus. The text is notable for the fact that it is dated by the priesthood of Tib. Cl. Augustianus (*IDR* 3/2, 79).[29] The priest's name, but not his title as provincial priest, occurs in a second text recording that he was a knight and augur at Municipium Septimium Apulense.[30] Lastly, a votive altar, perhaps of marble, was set up to Mars Augustus about A.D. 238–44 for the *salus* of Gordian by M. Antonius Valentinus, a knight, decurion of Municipium Septimium Apulum, and provincial priest (*IDR* 3/2, 266). Whether a further text (*IDR* 3/2, 132) records a provincial priest Longinus(?) must remain uncertain as his title is almost wholly restored.

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[25] Daicoviciu–Piso (1977) 75–8.

[26] Ardevan (1998) 333.

[27] Ardevan (1998) 434, no. 463, citing Piso, Epigraphica (XI) (1980) 125–7. I am indebted to M. Sasel-Kos for an offprint of Piso's paper.

i. The Provincial Cult

In contrast to its meagre traces from the second century the importance of the *concilium* clearly dates from the early third century when Romanization and the spread of *municipia* and *coloniae* was at its most intensive.[31] A few years after it erected a dedication for the *salus* of Severus Alexander (above) the council put on record its devotion to the *numen* and *maiestas* of Gordian on what is probably the base of an honorific statue (*IDR* 3/2, 80: A.D. 241)[32] and soon afterwards expressed its devotion to Philippus Arabs in similar terms (*IDR* 3/2, 81: A.D. 248). So notable an increase in testimonia under and just after the reign of Severus Alexander (cf. *IDR* 3/2, 266) is doubtless symptomatic of a period when the crisis that gripped the municipal elite elicited obligatory expressions of loyalty in Dacia very much as in Baetica. In any event, the activity of both the provincial cult and the provincial council is well in evidence from the first decades of the third century.[33] As in the second century, the worship was addressed to the living Augustus and centred on a provincial altar, evidently at Sarmizegetusa. Like other provinces of the Danube region, Dacia has preserved no trace of the cult of Roma or of the *divi / divae*, but apparently from the time of Severus Alexander the provincial priest began to wear the golden crown in the oriental fashion, a striking innovation confirmed by his title *coronatus* [34].

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[28] Ardevan (1998) 333 with n. 135 and refs.

[29] First published by Münsterberg-Oehler (1902) 134–5. Daicoviciu, Dazien (1966) 11 with n. 8 places the *sacerdotium* under Severus Alexander; Lajos (1969) 31, dates it to A.D. 222–35. See further Deininger (1965) 119, n. 6, 153 with n. 6; Piso (1982) 227 with nn. 12–14; *id.* (1993) 193, 196. Detailed discussion in Vol. III, 2, 258–60.

[30] Ardevan (1998) 416, no. 373, citing Piso (1981) 444–5, no. 2.

[31] Ardevan (1998) 508.

[32] Daicoviciu, *Dazien* (1966) 11 with n. 9.

[33] For a list of priests of Dacia see Vol. III, 2, 263–5.

A final glimpse of the provincial council is afforded by bronze coins issued in the period between Philippus Arabs and Gallienus, the latest in A.D. 257.[35] The reverse legend PROVINCIA DACIA presumably indicates that the coins were struck by authority of the *concilium* (cf. *CIL* 3, 7902), which was therefore still in existence in the mid-third century. It used to be thought that these were isolated issues but there is good evidence for a parallel series in Moesia Superior, beginning in A. D. 239/240. Numismatic considerations suggest that in all likelihood the Dacian coins were struck not at Sarmizegetusa but, like those of Upper Moesia, at the mint of Viminacium, the activity of which was halted under Gallienus a few years before Aurelian abandoned Dacia in A.D. 271.[36]

Pannonia and Moesia

Other provinces of the Danube region follow the pattern set by Dacia in that the great majority of their known provincial priests date from the Severan period or later. Presumably this circumstance is attributable at least in part to the delayed foundation of an official worship in the eastern reaches of the western empire. Pannonia Superior is particularly notable in this respect with at least three of its six priests of Severan date and two unassigned.[37] Various features of the surviving records are of central interest. In addition to the priestly title *sac.* (*CIL* 3, 3936, 10820; cf. *RIU* 20, 71) or *sacerdos* (*AIJ* 449; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 70), which as in Proconsularis gave way eventually to *sacerdotalis*, the term for a past incumbent (*AE*, 1966, 286; *RIU* 39; *AE*, 1983, 774), the texts preserve two references to a provincial *ara Augg.* (*RIU* 71) or *ara Aug.* (*AE*, 1983, 774), clear confirmation that the worship was addressed to the living emperor in isolation from either Roma or the *divi.* Again in Lower Pannonia the Severan inscription of C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris records that he was *sacerdos arae Aug(usti) n(ostri)* (*CIL* 3, 10496), while two other texts give the form *sacerd.* (*CIL* 3, 10305: Hadrian/Septimius Severus) or *sacer.* (*CIL* 3, 3485: late second century/third century); in an undated fourth text the title has to be restored (*RIU* 979).[38] Quite clearly, then, the cult of the lower province coresponded to that of the upper in focussing on the living emperor at an altar, in this case probably situated at Aquincum. There is no record of a priest of Upper Moesia but at Troesmis in Moesia Inferior the base of a statue to Elagabalus dated *ca.* A.D. 218 records that M. Ulpius Antipater served as provincial *sacerd(otalis)*, a post he unusually held *during* rather than after his municipal career, so it would appear (*IScM* 5, 151; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 71).[39] While the claims of Troesmis to have been the provincial centre look dubious, it can hardly be doubted that in Moesia Inferior the provincial cult again centred exclusively on the living emperor.

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[34] Vol. III, 2, 257–8.

[35] Deininger (1965) 119; Diacoviciu, Dazien (1966) 13, n. 22; Ardevan, *o.c.* 336.

[36] Kos (1992) 211–14, noting that the issue of coins by the provincial assemblies of the two easternmost provinces of the Latin west reflects the influence of neighbouring eastern provinces; Martin (1992) 10, 12–13, 19–21.

[37] For a list of priests of Pannonia Superior see Vol. III, 2, 273–4. On the priestly title see *ibid.* 268–71.

Other Provinces

Elsewhere traces of Severan or post-Severan provincial cult are slight. At Narbo Martius an altar records that by order of Mater Deum C. Batonius Primus performed a *taurobolium* in the name of the province for the *salus* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (*CIL* 12, 4323). This particular document will require closer consideration in connection with the relationship between provincial cults and the cult of Cybele, but it is of interest for the moment that this is the only text to preserve any indication of the content of the provincial cult of Gallia Narbonensis.[40] Evidently Batonius Primus is styled *flamen Augg.* because the rite he celebrated was on behalf of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, the two reigning Augusti—not that the formula excludes the participation of the deified *Augusti* in the worship tended by the provincial *flamen.* In Proconsularis, in contrast, at least three provincial priesthoods are of

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[38] For a list of priests of Pannonia Inferior see Vol. III, 2, 282–3.

[39] See the discussion in Vol. III, 2, 286–8.

[40] Cf. *CIL* 2^2/7, 292 (Corduba), above, p. 206. For a list of priesthoods of Narbonese Gaul, see Vol. III, 2, 183–5.

Severan date or later.[41] All of these attest the title *sacerdotalis*, a term which first appears about the time of Marcus Aurelius and implies that the past incumbent retained his rank. An interesting curiosity in this context is that M. Cornelius Proculeianus is styled *sacerdotalis p(rovinciae) A(fricae) v(eteris)* (*CIL* 8, 11546; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 60). As both his title *eq(ues) R(omanus)* and the elaborate language of his inscription point to a late Severan date,[42] reversion to the old name Africa Vetus looks very much like a reaction to the recent creation of Numidia, perhaps *ca.* A.D. 203 rather than 197/8.[43] Lastly, a Sardinian inscription dated to some year in the third century records that a certain Crescens had been "adlected" a member of the illustrious *ordo* of Carales (*CIL* 10, 7917). We have seen that this looks to be an indirect reflection of a clause similar to one of the regulations of the Flavian Lex Narbonensis, a version of which was evidently still operative in Sardinia (above, pp. 135–44).

Other than these traces there is nothing to report elswhere. Disappointingly, the provincial cults of Lusitania, the Mauretanian and the Alpine provinces preserve no vestige from this period, though Mauretania Caesariensis has yielded honorific dedications set up by the provincial council to Julia Domna(?) (*CIL* 8, 9037)[44] and Caracalla (*CIL* 8, 8930). Mention of the council in connection with the martyrdom of Fabius at Caesarea in A.D. 304 presumably indicates the continued existence of the provincial cult in the second half of the third century.[45] Similarly, while no provincial priest of Numidia is known, evidence for the existence of a *concilium* of the province looks to be preserved in an imperial rescript found near Timgad (*CIL* 8, 17639),[46] dating from the first half of the third century.

It remains to note that, in addition to the handful of late records in individual provinces, traces of activity by provincial councils occur sporadically at Rome.[47] In A.D. 240, for example, the council of Mauretania Caesariensis set up an honorific inscription including the *devotus* formula to Gordian (*CIL* 6, 1090), while the same formula appears in a dedication set up by the Three Gauls to Saloninus, the younger son of Gallienus, at some point between A.D 258 and 261 (*AE*, 1934, 161). With these texts can be grouped a third-century(?) inscription likewise at Rome attesting the existence of a British counterpart to the *concilium* known in other provinces.[48] Just as at the imperial court, growing orientalization is also a striking feature of provincial ruler cult, which saw the old Roman *flamen* with *apex* and head-bands now give way to a *sacerdos* with oriental-style golden crown. Vestiges of this occur in Africa, where Tertullian mentions the *coronae aureae* of the provincial priests (*De Idolol.* 18, 1), and *coronati provinciae* are mentioned at Thamugadi under Julian (*CIL* 8, 17896: lines 9–10), above all in Dacia, which has produced at least one priest epigraphically attested as *coronatus* (*IDR* 3/2, 266). Whether the same development overtook other provinces awaits confirmation by new inscriptions.

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[41] *IRT* 397: A.D. 198–209; *CIL* 8, 11546: *ca.* A.D. 200–40; *CIL* 8, 2343, 4252, *AE* (1914) 41, Gascou (1979): mid third century. For a list of provincial priests see Vol. III, 2, 200-4.

[42] Duncan-Jones (1968) 157.

[43] Fishwick, Origins (1993) 58 with n. 23.

[44] Fishwick (1978) 1250 with n. 251.

[45] Deiniger (1965) 132 with n. 11 and refs.

[46] Deininger, *o.c.* 135.

[47] Fishwick (1978) 1250–1.

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[48] Beard, Dedication (1980) 313 with n. 1, citing the original publication of the inscription by Solin (1975) no. 3, 6–8.

CHAPTER SIX

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROVINCIAL WORSHIP

The general shape of provincial ruler cult in the Latin west has become much clearer in recent years, at least in broad outline. In Tres Galliae, Lusitania, Gallia Narbonensis and Africa Proconsularis sufficient evidence is now on hand to date the origins of the cult and to clarify its basic design up to the point where inscriptions largely give out. Much the same is true of Hispania citerior, Baetica and Sardinia except that secure evidence to confirm what seems the likeliest point of origin has yet to emerge; that difficulty aside, the pattern of development is either attested in considerable detail or can be reconstructed on the basis of key texts. With far less to go on in Britannia, the two Mauretaniae and the Alpine provinces one is forced to argue largely from analogy, but in the Danube provinces the main scheme of things is reasonably well documented, even if the precise point of departure remains in doubt. While new discoveries and a better understanding of existing evidence should eventually fit the remaining pieces of the puzzle in place, the overall picture already appears in much sharper focus than was the case only a few decades ago.[1] In the light of our significantly improved comprehension, therefore, analysis of the institution and evolution of western provincial cults can conclude by turning to three central issues, all of which have been touched on in earlier discussion.

Initiative and Responsibility

The sources record only two occasions when the foundation of a provincial cult was umistakably proposed by the provincials themselves. The first was in A.D. 15, when an embassy of Spaniards asked permission to build a temple at Tarraco to (Divus) Augustus. We have seen that their request must concern a provincial temple of Hispania citerior and that the petition was granted. Tacitus adds that an example was set for all the provinces, whatever that may mean (*Ann.* 1, 78). Ten years later a similar request from the province of Baetica to erect a temple to Tiberius and his mother on the model of the Asian temple at Smyrna to Tiberius, Livia and Senate was refused (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37, 1; cf. 4, 15, 55–6). No other certain example of initiative from below is recorded and it has recently been proposed that even the request from Hither Spain may have been prompted by pressure from the local Roman governor.[2] There remains the outside possibility that Lusitania, acting independently in line with the ruling given the neighbouring province, may have followed the example of Hither Spain and spontaneously built its own provincial temple as the centre of a cult that likewise centred on Divus Augustus. In this case, however, the sources are silent on any initiative on the part of the provincials and encouragement by the Roman authorities, including financial support, could again come into the picture.

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[1] *Contra* Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354, n. 117, declaring that much of the account in Vol. I, 1, 150–68; I, 2, 219–94 —in other words the entire analysis of Hispania citerior, Lusitania, Noricum, Baetica, Narbonensis, Proconsularis and the Mauretaniae—necessarily remains hypothetical; see, however, *eid., o.c.* 356, where this reconstruction is accepted throughout. The authors base their judgment on the article of Le Roux (1994), whose arguments are rejected above.

These episodes apart, it seems clear that except for minor aberrations responsibility for promoting an official ruler cult in each province of the western empire rested squarely with the central administration in Rome. The initial phase of foundations saw a Roman commander, in most cases a close relative of Augustus, found one or more altars as the centre of a regional cult in north-west Spain, in Gallia Comata, on the Rhine and on the Elbe, possibly also among the Lingones. The idea that the foundation at Lugdunum was imposed from above has been questioned in recent years[3] but there seems no good reason to doubt the standard interpretation which the majority of commentators have placed on the account in the sources.[4] While it dates from the reign of Claudius, the institution of a provincial cult in Britannia, apparently first at an altar but later based on the temple constructed after the emperor's death, was again a clear result of Roman initiative. This is confirmed by the fact that the temple, if not the earlier altar, was seen as a bastion of Roman domination and a proximate cause of the rebellion of Boudicca (Tac., *Ann.* 14, 31).

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[2] Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 356 with n. 126. For the traditional view that the headquarters of the Roman governor were located at the later provincial centre see Vol. III, 3, 34.

[3] Price (1984) 74–5. *Contra* Vol. I, 1, 187. For the full range of Greek influences evident at the federal centre from its origins see Richard (1992) 507–8.

[4] See, for example, Larsen (1955) 130, 143; Mellor (1981) 983, 987 with n. 218; Frei-Stolba (1988) 188 with n. 13; Maurin (1986) 110; Zanker (1990) 302; Turcan (1991) 734.

Following the Julio-Claudian period, the only stage at which spontaneous action on the part of the local inhabitants is documented, provincial cults were extended to new provinces or existing cults reformulated in a cardinal reorganization undertaken at the outset of the Flavian era. Here again deliberate central direction can hardly be called into question. The very fact that similar regulations were followed not only in respect to the new foundations in Narbonensis, Baetica and Proconsularis—possibly too in Sardinia, the Mauretaniae and the Alpine provinces—but also in Tres Galliae, Hispania citerior and Lusitania, where the existing worship was reformed, points unmistakably to responsibility on the part of the central imperial administration. Only one set of actual guide-lines has survived, the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*, but it seems clear that parallel provisions were followed, if with local variations, in most if not all of these provinces. The surviving enactment gives every indication of having been issued at Rome probably as a *lex data*,[5] not that its specific genre is material to the present point. It is hardly conceivable that the provincials of Narbonensis could themselves have written a law based largely on the regulations appropriate to the ancient Roman office of *flamen Dialis* and framed in language characteristic of that used regularly in enactments issued centrally by the chancellery at Rome. Were the law a creation of the Narbonese *concilium*, one would have to suppose that each and every other provincial council which followed similar regulations spontaneously came up with roughly the same set of rules. Nor is it easy to think that so many provinces at more or less the same time commissioned competing embassies,[6] all of which were then given a similar code in response to individual spontaneous requests. By far the likelier scenario is that these regulations were first drawn up centrally,[7] then issued from Rome to a vast range of provinces in much the same way as "customized" versions of the Flavian municipal law were sent out under Domitian to so many towns of Roman Spain.[8]

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[5] Doubted for unspecified reasons by Gordon *et al.* (1993) 149, n. 302. See further Vol. III, 2, 1 with n. 2, cf. 5.

[6] See above, p. 98 with n. 12.

[7] For continued control from the centre see the proviso attached to the honorific statue that might be raised to an out-going provincial *flamen*: ... *nisi cui imperator* [*Caesar* ... (*CIL* 12, 6038: line 13). Further discussion in Vol. III, 2, 8 with n. 23.

[8] For discussion see above, pp. 97–8 with nn. 10–11.

That this was by no means an isolated procedure is shown, for example, by the fact that an inscription at Sarmizegetusa, possibly linked with the provincial council of Dacia, records *vota publica* framed in language that copies the *votorum carmen* of the Arval Brethren at Rome.[9] Similarly four inscriptions found at Cyrene and Ptolemais show that vows were made *pro salute imperatoris* in the same cult language as used by the Arvals.[10] It is difficult to think that these various centres spontaneously sent independent embassies to Rome requesting the official wording to be used in making vows locally. Rather one must conclude that the approved formulas were dispatched from Rome on the initiative of the central administration (see further below, p. 231).[11] Comparable examples are the Feriale Duranum, a version of which seems to have been observed by troops throughout the empire;[12] the Tabula Siarensis, a record found near Seville of a decree of the Roman Senate and people enumerating arches, statues, annual sacrifices and other honours voted to Germanicus *post mortem*—the provision that copies of the decree were to be set up not just in Rome but also in the municipalities and colonies of Italy and in the colonies of imperial provinces shows that similar honours were intended to be paid locally, as attested at Mainz and elsewhere;[13] the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre*, copies of which were to be posted in Rome, at the most frequented place in the principal city of each province, even in the military camps *ad signa*;[14] the calendar of festivals "for the veneration of the imperial house" prescribed in the Lex Irnitana for local observance alongside festivals determined locally,[15] likewise the requirement in the Flavian charters that magistrates shall swear by apparently the same form of oath as was used by Roman citizens.[16]

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[9] Marghitan–Petolescu (1974); *eid.* (1976); cf. Vol. I, 2, 302, n. 8; Vol. II, 1, 498, n. 150.

[10] Reynolds (1962). See further *ead.* (1965).

[11] So Rives (1995) 62.

[12] Vol. II, 1, 593–608.

[13] Vol. I, 1, 161, n. 69; II, 1, 500, n. 162, 502, n. 173. For an overview of the different levels at which the document was to be published see now Corbier (2001) 316–17 with n. 45. See further Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 352, n. 112, noting *ad Tabula Siarensis* frag. a, 29–32, that "Gauls and Germans from across the Rhine were instructed by Rome to offer cult to the memories of Drusus and Germanicus at Mainz". For the probable inference that delegates of the *concilium* of Tres Galliae appeared at Mogontiacum on at least two fixed occasions of the year in order to celebrate the *inferiae* of Drusus and Germanicus see Hertz (2001) 103–12, especially 107 with refs.; Liertz (2000) 92–3.

[14] Corbier, *ibid.* with n. 46.

[15] *AE* (1986) 333; Gonzalez (1986) paras. 31, 90, 92. See Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 356, n. 124; Rüpke (1995) 540–6. These data from the Lex Irnitana, itself an extensively preserved local copy of the prototype Flavian Lex Municipalis, can now be added to

To these instances of legal or ritual prescription from the centre can be added the dissemination of iconographic or architectural models, in particular standardized types of imperial portraits centrally chosen at Rome, then exported for empire-wide imitation[17], copies of dynastic reliefs or statue groups at Rome likewise reproduced locally,[18] most strikingly of all, as has now become clear, replicas even of the Forum Augustum: these occur certainly at Tarraco, Emerita and Corduba, the capitals of the three provinces of Spain, while elements of the same scheme, notably *clipei* or masks of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa, occur at numerous other centres.[19] How exactly these Roman models and prototypes were transmitted is unclear.[20] Once they were received and in vogue, local rivalry and competition will go much of the way towards explaining their spread, but the initial impetus for their local use or replication in the provinces will surely have come, at least in some degree, from Rome.

Much the same picture looks true of the Antonine and Severan periods. Minor internal modifications such as the change in priestly title from *flamen* to *sacerdos* in Proconsularis and Sardinia may well be ascribable to local initiative acting in response to local conditions, but the Roman authorities must have been responsible for the institution of provincial cults in the Danube region—that is, in Dacia, Lower and

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Vol. II, 1, 497–501. The calendar implicit in the Lex Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038: line 20) must similarly have been issued from Rome.

[16] Cf. *AE* (1986) 333, paras. 25, 26, ⟨G⟩, Tablet VIIA, paras. 69, 73, 79.

[17] Price (1984) 172–4.

[18] See, for example, the two marble reliefs, both from the same original monument, that were found at Carthage and are now in the Louvre and the Museé d'Alger. The Louvre relief is clearly based on the iconography of the Ara Pacis, that at Algiers apparently copies the cult group in the temple of Mars Ultor. For discussion see Rives (1995) 52–4; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 331–3; Fishwick, Bas-relief (1999). Another altar, found intact on the Byrsa and now at Tunis, has four panels that are likewise replete with Augustan themes taken from Augustan monuments: Rives, *o.c.* 53–6.

[19] Gros (1994) 50–1.; Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 56; Barrera (2000) 158–62; Trillmich (1995); Fishwick, Forum (2000): full discussion in Vol. III, 3, 12–17, 24–5, 61–5, 79–83. For the suggestion that the marble *forum adiectum* at Emerita will have been constructed on imperial initiative backed by the *pecunia publica* of the community see Saquete (1997) 165–9. He notes that the theatre and amphitheatre of Emerita were financed by Agrippa and Augustus respectively and that the early population of the city lacked an elite with the means to support private benefactions.

[20] Zanker (1990) 313.

Upper Moesia, Lower and Upper Pannonia—likewise in Dalmatia, where a provincial worship may have superceded earlier regional cults. Certainly no embassy from the provincials themselves is conceivable and no hint of spontaneous action appears in the sources. A major innovation of the period is the construction of a temple at the sanctuary by Lugdunum following the inclusion of deified rulers within the federal cult of Tres Galliae. Everything suggests that the initiative here came from Hadrian, after whose passage through the region, en route to and from Britain in A.D. 121, the process of building looks to have got under way. We have seen that his possible encouragement of the federal council to use its financial resources towards the costs of construction may be reflected in the epigraphical sources (above, pp. 184–5). The same emperor reportedly renovated the temple at Tarraco at his own expense when he visited Spain the following winter (*SHA*, *Hadr.* 12, 3).

Most significant of all is a fundamental change in the cult of the Three Gauls following the victory of Septimius Severus over Albinus and the destruction of the town of Lugdunum, which had unwisely backed the losing side. Against this background it can only have been direct pressure from the new regime that forced a fundamental modification of the cult at the original altar, which henceforth focused uncompromisingly on the reigning Caesar(s). In Hither Spain, in contrast, the oppression and confiscation enforced by the new dynasty looks to have accelerated the demise of a provincial cult that was already decaying. Possibly the Severan authorities concluded that the provincial elite were no longer in a position to support a reformed cult of Hispania citerior and that imperial purposes were best served in other ways. Whatever the reason, nothing comparable to the cult of the Caesar(s) at Lugdunum occurs at Tarraco or any provincial centre elsewhere in the western empire. Thereafter it is in most cases no longer possible to trace further developments in provincial cults, though in several provinces, notably Baetica and Proconsularis, evidence for provincial priests or the activity of the *concilium* continues into the Severan period and beyond. Two main exceptions to this generalization may be noted. In Tres Galliae the details preserved in the long Vieux inscription illuminate the continued functioning of the council of Tres Galliae and a provincial priesthood which must still have served the cult of Caesars(s) *ad aram*. In the Danube region, in contrast, where provincial cults had been instituted later than elsewhere, the worship focussed on the living emperor(s) from the beginning, so was already on track to sustain the arriviste dynasty of the Severi and their succesors.

The overall impression one has in retrospect, then, is of central orchestration and control throughout the entire period from Augustus down to the middle of the third century, with only two clear cases of initiative from below, one of which proved unsuccessful.[21] The notion that in the Latin west the provincials themselves were responsible for instituting individual provincial cults is plainly in conflict with the fuller picture that new discoveries and revised analysis have recently brought to the surface.[22] In this respect the western provinces differed significantly from those of the east, where experience with the ruler cult stretched back to the time of the Greek city states and Hellenistic kingdoms. Initiative from below was consequently the norm in the Greek world, though here too the emperor could make the first move, as notably at Miletus (CD 59, 28, 1).[23] By and large provincial cult in the West appears as an instrument of imperial policy, a device that could be manipulated in whichever direction the purposes of the central authority might require.[24]

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[21] So Garnsey–Saller (1987) 164–7; cf. Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 356 with n. 122, observing that in the west the initiative could come sometimes from the provincials themselves, on other occasions from the central Roman authorities.

[22] Official promotion of provincial cult is usually contrasted with the spontaneous development of municipal cult initiated from below. Even here, however, the picture is far from uniform. In the older, long-Romanized provinces civic cults no doubt spread largely of their own accord as communities vied with each other to peg their stake in the imperial system. How far the initial steps in this direction might have been encouraged by the Roman authorities is usually unclear—though at Carthage, for example, approved models to be followed by the local *ordo* will certainly have come from Rome, just as at Tarraco a Greek model was on hand in the posted copy of a decree of Mytilene listing various honours voted for Augustus: Rives (1995) 61–3; Vol. I, 1, 171–2. In the wilder, uncivilized centres of Gaul, Britain or the Germanies, in contrast, it is stretching credulity to suppose that native communities suddenly decided, entirely of their own volition, to build, say, Capitolia and altars or temples of the imperial cult. At least some degree of prompting from the Roman administration must surely be supposed. Tacitus refers explicitly to this in a well known passage of his *Agricola*: *Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent* ... (21, 1); cf. Liertz (1998) 100. As Fear has observed, this policy was designed primarily for Roman security reasons and, if the Romans provided technical assistance in construction, the Britons will undoubtedly have footed the bill. Even so, it is unrealistic to suppose that this adoption of Roman cults and other customs was entirely "bottom-up", entirely without advice or suggestion given "top-down": Fear (1996) 17–19, 268–9.

[23] Price (1984) 66–9, noting the actions of Gaius at Miletus, also of Hadrian while travelling through Asia; cf. Friesen (1993) 21–6. For the pro-active role of the Roman provincial governor in matters of cult in the Greek east see Price, *o.c.* 69–72.

[24] The conclusion conflicts with F. Millar's controversial notion of a passive emperor

Content and Form

In the initial Augustan phase the only cult of which the content looks to be accurately recorded is that based on the great altar erected in the *pagus Condatensis* beside Lugdunum. We have seen that this is best regarded as the focus of a supra-regional cult of Gallia Comata rather than a federal cult of Tres Galliae, a term that does not occur in the sources before the Flavian period. Whereas the literary authorities

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who largely reacted to initiative from below; though even on this view a degree of central responsibility for the earlier foundations of the Augustan period and in Britain is conceded; cf. *id.* (1977) 387, taking councils in the Three Gauls, Britain and briefly Germany to have been instituted by imperial initiative. How influential Millar's approach has proved has already been noted in passing (above, p. 6, n. 4; p. 98, nn. 12, 13). In an "Afterword" to the unaltered second edition of his study (1991, 636–52) the author concludes by re-stating his conviction that the mode of "petition and response" was a general and characteristic feature of the way government by the Roman emperor actually worked. While this model might serve simply as a schema or ideal type that provides a neutral way of asking questions about the notion of imperial government, Millar repeats that his thesis asserts positively that a significant range of the decisions made by the emperor were in reaction to stimulus from below—receipt of embassies, answering of petitions or written consultations, hearing of cases, and so on. Furthermore, imperial responses, which functioned as a sort of case-law, should be ascribed to the emperor himself, not a bureaucratic *a libellis*. Some exceptions to this view of passive government are nevertheless granted, notably the instructions issued by emperors from Augustus onwards to provincial governors. These *mandata*, which eventually hardened into a fixed code, were then included in a governor's *edictum*, which in turn was reflected in the *album* which had to be displayed in admistering local justice, as the Lex Irnitana prescribes (*AE*, 1986, 333, para. 85). A further aspect of positive government which Millar allows is the role of *senatus consulta* as a form of legislation initiated by imperial orations, which are themselves occasionally cited as effective legislation. But otherwise the author sees the general process of decision-making on the part of the emperor as obeying his proposed general rule.

No reference is made in any of this to the Flavian Municipal Law other than to a clause of the Lex Irnitana (above). Yet on the figures of Fear (above, p. 97, n. 10) over 300 individual charters, each an adapted version of the original master document, would have been required in Baetica and the rest of Spain. All of these were patently issued in consequence of a positive decision somehow arrived at by the emperor and central administration—the workings of the imperial court remain impenetrably obscure—not in response to individual embassies from each and every community. As a result, they constitute massive evidence of initiative from above. We have seen that the Lex Narbonensis looks to be similarly one example of guide-lines drawn up centrally, then issued widely to other provinces. Finally, the very development of provincial ruler cult in the Latin west, even that of municipal cult to some extent, surely resulted from positive decisions made by the central authority rather than in response to initiatives from below. In the context of this analysis, therefore, the notion of a predominantly passive emperor seems to exaggerate or over-emphasize what is simply one facet of the emperor's multi-sided activities. The evolution of western ruler cult in particular with rare exceptions does not conform to the model of "petition and response".

speak only of the cult of Augustus alone, both the epigraphical and numismatic sources record that the worship *ad aram* was directed to Roma and Augustus in line with the principle outlined by Suetonius with reference to temples in the provinces: *templa quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere in nulla tamen provincia nisi suo Romaeque nomine recepit* (*Aug.* 52). As the cult at Lugdunum was installed in 12 B.C. by Augustus' step-son Drusus, its content is entirely predictable, therefore, and by the same token a similar cult of Roma and the emperor could be expected at other regional foundations, the origins of which go back to the early principate. All of these were likewise instituted by a near relative of the emperor with the exception of the altars set up by L. Sestius Quirinalis, governor of Hispania citerior between 22 and 19 B.C. According to Pliny (*NH* 4, 111) and Pomponius Mela (3, 13) the *arae Sestianae* were dedicated to Augustus, but the inaccuracy of the literary sources in respect to cultic matters in general, along with the minor importance of Roma in the west, together suggest that in practice cult will rather have been offered to Roma and Augustus. The same holds *a fortiori* in respect to the *ara Ubiorum* near Cologne established by Drusus *ca.* 12–9 B.C. (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 39, 1)—here Tacitus describes Segimundus as *sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus* (*Ann.* 1, 57, 2)—and the altar on the east bank of the Elbe, which on Dio's testimony L. Domitius Ahenobarbus erected to Augustus *ca.* 2 B.C. (CD 55, 10a, 2). An altar to Roma and Augustus may likewise lie behind the reference in the late source Cassiodorus to a temple of Caesar among the Lingones in 9 B.C. (*Chron.* II, pp. 135, 586–7).

Two features of these early foundations call for particular notice. In every case except the temple among the Lingones (where the source may well be in error) the monument on which the cult centred was an altar. As precisely this feature is repeated at the second century foundations of the Danube region, all of which focus on the reigning emperor, it seems clear that an altar was the monument ritually appropriate to the cult of the living emperor, whether he was accompanied by Roma or not. The second point is that in every case mentioned in the sources the term used of the attendant priest is *sacerdos*.[25] This can be explained in the first place by the circumstance that Roma was a peregrine goddess brought to Italy from the East, so like other imported deities served by a *sacerdos* rather than a *flamen*, the name appropriate to priests of the ancient deities of Rome.[26] On the other hand Augustus was a man not a god, so again the proper term was *sacerdos* rather than *flamen*. This consideration is sufficient in itself to exclude the eccentric notion that the living emperor was a god in his lifetime,[27] for as a god of Rome his cult would surely have warranted the services of a *flamen*.

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[25] On *sacerdos* and *flamen* see in general Beard–North (1990) 19 (Table 1), 22–5, 43–7, 197, 221.

The Julio-Claudian period is of fundamental importance for the introduction of the cult of the deified emperor. Whether Tacitus reports the actual words of the Spanish embassy of A.D. 15, which improperly requested a temple to Augustus, can hardly be determined (*Ann.* 1, 78). In any event permission was given to construct a provincial temple to the deified Augustus as local coins issued at Tarraco make abundantly clear.[28] What is immediately significant here is that in his new capacity as a state god by process of deification Divus Augustus merited a temple like any other Roman god. The distinction between the living and the deified emperor is directly reflected in the different monument appropriate to either. As a Roman god, Divus Augustus should also have been served by a *flamen*, but for whatever reason no record of a provincial *flamen* of Hither Spain occurs before the Flavian period.[29] In contrast, if one turns to the neighbouring province of Lusitania, all the appropriate evidence is at hand. As in Hither Spain, coins display a temple with the same legend as on coins of Tarraco portraying the provincial temple of Hither Spain; though tetrastyle rather than octostyle, this structure is surely the provincial temple of Lusitania, not the municipal temple of Emerita.[30] Whether the building corresponds to the monumental edifice in the Calle Holguín at Mérida has long been uncertain but may now be determined by the current round of excavations in the zone. Equally important, three inscriptions in Lusitania attest that the provincial cult was tended by a *flamen* and paid to Divus Augustus joined in due course by Diva Augusta, conceivably later by Divus Claudius also.[31] In a sense, therefore, the evidence in Lusitania fills the gap in the testimony from Hispania citerior in so far as it records that the cult of the deified emperor centred on a temple and was served by a *flamen*. It follows that the cults at the regional altars of the Augustan period and at the provincial temples of the Julio-Claudian era were now set on two distinct tracks.[32]

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[26] Vol. I, 1, 165.

[27] Clauss (1996), (1999) throughout.

[28] Vol. I, 1, 151–3; Vol. III, 3, 5–7.

[29] For a list of priests of Hispania citerior see Vol. III, 2, 104–23.

[30] Vol. I, 1, 156–7; Vol. III, 3, 41–4.

[31] *CIL* 2, 41*; *AE* (1997) 777b; *IRScallabis* 11.

The early cult of Britannia, in contrast, seems to have been strictly in line with that of Gallia Comata. We have seen that despite the lack of direct evidence the original form of cult looks to have centred on an altar at Camulodunum flanked by Victories, precisely as at Lugdunum. This reconstruction is strongly supported by Tacitus' reference to the *sacerdotes* who exacted funds from the local population (*Ann.* 14, 31), in all probability towards the costs of constructing the accompanying temple that the senate had "constituted" to Divus Claudius in the immediate aftermath of his decease. If Tacitus uses the word exactly, as there is no reason to doubt, the term *sacerdos* at once supports the inference of an early cult of the living emperor (accompanied by Roma?) at an altar and excludes the possibility of a temple to Claudius in his lifetime. A temple served by a *sacerdos* rather than a *flamen* as in Hispania citerior and Lusitania would be entirely inappropriate to the living emperor and can call on no parallel in support throughout the entire history of provincial cults in the Latin west. The priestly title *sacerdos* combines with the archaeological evidence, therefore, to support the inference that in the newly conquered territory of Britannia a provincial cult would originally have been paid to the living emperor at an altar precisely as at the regional centres established in the Augustan period, all of which were similarly located in less-civilized, non-Romanized areas of the western empire.

Under the Flavian regime the content of provincial cults took a new turn which amounts in effect to a merging of these diverse forms of worship in most if not all provinces other than Tres Galliae, the Agri Decumates and the territories of the Danube region. The evidence is clearest in Hither Spain, where records of provincial priests begin suddenly under Vespasian and are then preserved in surprising number, some two-thirds of the grand total, down to the end of the Antonine period, when the relevant inscriptions virtually give out.[33] Despite the great variety of formulae, a phenomenon to be explained by unregulated abbreviation or condensation on the part of whatever person or body has dedicated a particular monument, it is clear that the cult was henceforth offered to Roma, the living emperor and the deified dead.

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[32] Vol. I, 1, 165.

[33] Vol. III, 2, 73.

If the (unattested) pre-Flavian cult had been directed towards Divus Augustus, followed in due course by Diva Augusta and perhaps also Divus Claudius, as plainly the case in Lusitania, the innovation at the beginning of the Flavian period will have been to include the living emperor and Roma within the existing cult of deceased personages. A point of particular interest in this connection, later repeated at Lugdunum, is that the title of the provincial priest remained unchanged, despite the expansion of the worship, so that the cult continued to be served by a *flamen* just as before.

Apart from the omission of Roma, the same composite worship looks to be likewise attested in a wide range of other new or existing provincial cults. This is plainly the case in Baetica, where there is no trace of an earlier pre-Flavian provincial worship and priests are recorded with very much the same title as in Hither Spain: *flamen Divorum Augustorum* vel sim. The term *flamen* would be in keeping with a cult that included the deified deceased and comparison with Hither Spain and Lusitania suggests the probable existence of a provincial temple. Whether the remains of this have been identified by the lower forum of Corduba is a disputed question that must be addressed in the general context of provincial centres.[34] In Narbonensis, in contrast, where the Flavian origin of the cult is implicit in the Lex Narbonensis and other contemporary texts, it is clear that the cult was served by a *flamen*, while the existence of a provincial temple at Narbo is directly attested by references in the regulations of the provincial charter. Regrettably the text of the key document is broken away at the point where it mentions a *flamen Augus*[... but, as both the title and the presence of a temple preclude a cult of the living emperor in isolation, it seems clear that the formula should be completed *Augus*[*talis* or *Augus*[*torum*, either of which versions would attest a cult of the living emperor in company with deified members of the imperial house. In Africa Proconsularis, on the other hand, inscriptions attest a *flamen Aug.*, a formula that on the basis of the same arguments must be likewise completed *Aug(ustalis)* or *Aug(ustorum)*. Plainly, then, the worship of Proconsularis followed that of Hispania citerior (without Roma), Narbonensis and Baetica,[35] but contrary to the archaeological record in these provinces no trace has so far appeared at Carthage of a provincial temple in keeping with this form of cult. On the other hand, the practice of dating the priesthood by the *annus* of a religious era beginning in A.D. 70–2 pinpoints its origins precisely at the very beginning of the Flavian period. Again, in Lusitania it seems clear from an inscription recording the dedication by the province of a gold *protomé* of Titus (*CIL* 2, 5264: A.D. 77/8) that here too the provincial cult was expanded to include the living emperor(s) with the deified dead including Livia. Lastly, in Sardinia an inscription of the early second century (*CIL* 10, 7599) recording a *flamen Divorum Augustorum* suggests a Flavian origin and a cult of similar content to that, say, of Baetica, where the same priestly title occurs. This conclusion looks strongly supported by the circumstance that one provision of a set of regulations comparable to those issued in Narbonensis was plainly operative in Sardinia in the second and even third century (*CIL* 10, 7518, 7917).

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[34] Vol. III, 3, 88.

[35] According to Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354, the living emperor *may* have been included alongside the dead and deified in the provincial cults of Gallia Narbonensis and Africa Proconsularis, and at the time of Vespasian the cult at Tarraco *may* have been extended to include the reigning emperor (and Roma it should be added). But the point at issue, at least in Narbonensis and Proconsularis, has always been whether

Elsewhere evidence is less conclusive. While the provincial priests of the Alpine provinces are styled *flamen Aug.*, the single recorded priest of Mauretania Caesariensis has the title *flamen provinciae* but otherwise gives no clue to the content of the provincial worship. Analogy nevertheless points to a similar cult of the living and deified dead in both regions, very possibly dating from the Flavian period; support for this inference occurs in Mauretania Tingitana, where we have no trace of provincial priests but a *flaminica* of the late first or early second century is attested with a Flavian name, Flavia Germanilla. Whether a comparable development took place in Britannia is not determinable given the lack of any documented provincial priest but it is conceivable that in the Flavian period, by which time the temple "constituted" to Divus Claudius must have been completed, the cult was expanded on the lines of that of other provinces where the provincial worship was modified on the advent of a new dynasty. Whatever the development in the island province, the majority of provincial cults look to have been roughly uniform by the latter part of the first century with the glaring excep-

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the *divi* were included with the reigning emperor, not vice versa. For arguments that the epigraphical evidence requires the combination of both see the discussion of the various provinces. On the formula *flamen Augustorum* see Vol. I, 2, 269–81. Alföldy (1973) 49, arrives independently at the same conclusion regarding the content of the cult of Hispania citerior: "Dennoch braucht man nicht daran zu zweifeln ... dass der Provinzialoberpriester seither [sc. seit Vespasian] sowohl den Kult der konsekrierten und regierenden Herrscher als auch den der *dea Roma* pflegte."

tion of the Arae Flaviae in the Agri Decumates. In this single instance a new foundation in a recently conquered area evidently returned to the Augustan model of a cult centred on an altar, except that several altars were erected here, presumably one each for Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. Whether each altar was dedicated to Roma, the living Augustus (Vespasian) and the Caesares (Titus and Domitian) as in the case of an altar dedicated at Braga in north-west Spain (*CIL* 2, 2426) can hardly be said, but it looks impossible that these monuments were established under Domitian to the living emperor with his deified father and deified brother. We have seen that, as an almost unbroken rule, the cult of a *divus* was not associated with an altar. As for the military territories that were converted into Upper and Lower Germany under Domitian, there is no trace of a provincial cult in either of these; even the regional cult at Ara Ubiorum appears to have disappeared following the defeat of Varus. In Germania Inferior the Tungri at least remained attached to Gallia Belgica, just as in Germania Superior various tribes including the Helvetii maintained their membership in the federal cult at Lugdunum.[36] Finally, it is worth adding that in north-west Spain the cult of Roma and Augustus at the level of the *conventus*, created under Vespasian in an administrative reorganization of the region, appears to be likewise Flavian in origin.

The Antonine period is notable for conflicting or at least contrasting developments in the content of provincial cults. In Proconsularis the title of the provincial priest changed from *flamen* to *sacerdos* late in the reign of Trajan and a similar switch in title subsequently took place in Sardinia. In neither province does there seem to be any reason to infer a consequent change in the content of the provincial worship. In Proconsularis a principal consideration may have been the greater prestige of the title *sacerdos*, the term found in the cult of the Cereres, from which the provincial imperial cult seems to have borrowed the system of dating priesthoods by the year of an era. Sardinia presumably followed the lead of Proconsularis, though we have seen that introduction of the local municipal *sacerdotium* of Urbs Roma may have been a factor influencing the change in terminology. Whatever the correct explanation, these modifications look in both provinces to have been internal developments influenced by local circumstances, not a reflection of some sudden fundamental change in the nature of the provincial worship.

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[36] Vol. III, 2, 58 *ad AE* (1972) 352.

At some time under the same emperor, it would appear, provincial cults were instituted in the provinces of Dacia, Upper and Lower Pannonia, and Upper and Lower Moesia. Whether a provincial cult was similarly founded in Dalmatia is less certain but regional cults are recorded at Scordona and Doclea, each based on an altar at which a *sacerdos* officiated. In the entire Danube area, it is now clear, the new foundations focussed solely on the living emperor, sometimes qualified as *noster*, and, just as in the Augustan period, the cult centred on an altar, where it was served by a priest styled *sacerdos*. While no trace has surfaced in Upper Moesia, this development is directly attested in Dacia, Lower Moesia and the two provinces of Pannonia, in each of which explicit evidence confirms that the provincial priest served the living emperor, now alone, at an altar. Of particular interest here is that there is no longer any mention of Roma. Consistently with the emphasis on the living emperor no trace survives in the Danube provinces of a provincial temple, a monument appropriate only to the deified ruler. This is notably the case at Gorsium, where the long established thesis of a provincial temple of Lower Pannonia is excluded by the absence of any trace of a provincial cult of the *divi*—quite apart from the difficulties presented by an extensive religious complex more obviously suited to the cult of "oriental deities", Dolichenus and the like.[37] At first sight the strong possibility that Trajan founded Danubian cults of the living emperor served by a *sacerdos* might seem to bear some relation to the change from *flamen* to *sacerdos* in Proconsularis and Sardinia, but, as already noted, the epigraphical testimony reveals no corresponding change in the content of the worship in these two provinces.

With the accession of Hadrian and the development of a more inward looking imperial policy a distinct shift is observable in the emphasis of provincial cults, once again clear evidence of how profoundly the evolution of provincial ruler worship was influenced by the central authority. It would appear to have been under this emperor that the cult of Tres Galliae, which until now had focussed entirely on the living emperor and Roma, was expanded to include the deified dead, a modification which plainly brought the worship of the Three Gauls into line with that of other existing provincial cults. As the comparable development in other provinces would dictate, the inclusion of the

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[37] Fishwick, Gorsium (2000); Vol. III, 3, 149–72, especially 169ff.

divi was accompanied by construction of a provincial temple; no certain vestige of this has been unearthed by archaeological exploration, but its existence is amply confirmed by the epigraphical sources. Two points are of particular interest in the new phase of federal worship. In the first place, despite the inclusion of the *divi*, the title of the provincial priest remained *sacerdos*—precisely as in Hither Spain the term *flamen* continued in use even when the living emperor and Roma were added to the worship of the *divi*. That the term *sacerdos* was likewise retained in Britain after construction of the temple of Divus Claudius seem likely enough. The second point is that we have a single inscription that, if correctly recorded in the manuscript version, attests the inclusion of the *divi* in the cult at a time when the altar was still the principal monument: *sacerdos Romae et August(orum)* (*CIL* 13, 1718)). This conflicts with the overall pattern we have observed elsewhere, linking the worship of the deified emperor with a temple, not an altar. Presumably the anomaly is to be explained by the haste with which the cult embraced the *divi* following Hadrian's visit to Lugdunum—even before the new temple was completed and put into cultic service. It raises the interesting question, however, of whether at Tarraco too the cult of Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta and conceivably Divus Claudius might have been likewise temporarily accommodated at an altar pending completion of the temple of Hither Spain, an event apparently delayed until the Flavian period. With no epigraphical text or archaeological evidence to draw on, the question is for the moment unanswerable.

Lastly, the Severan age saw yet another change in the content of the federal worship at Lugdunum, a partial return to its earliest form which once agains looks directly attributable to pressure from the centre. Here and only here in the entire western empire the focus of the worship was re-directed towards the living emperor, now defined as *Caesar noster* or *Caesares nostri*, and the cult once again centred on the great altar, which regained its ancient status as the principal monument. The fact that inscriptions qualify the altar as *ad templum Romae et Augustorum* nevertheless shows that the Hadrianic version of the worship was by no means discarded but continued at the temple as before. With this development the evolution of provincial ruler cult in the Latin west had in practice come full circle. No further changes in the content of any provincial ruler cult are registered by the epigraphical texts, though it would appear that in the Danube region in particular provincial worship was increasingly subject to "oriental" influences and that as late as *ca.* A.D. 220 the cult at Lugdunum still focussed on the Caesar(s).

Yet, despite the uncompromising emphasis on the living ruler in both these regions, other provinces appear to have retained their composite cults of the living emperor in conjunction with the deified dead. In retrospect, therefore, if one allows for the occasional variations we have noted, the content and form of provincial ruler cult appears to have broadly maintained the two basic features we distinguished at the outset: the cult of the living emperor at an altar served by a *sacerdos*, the worship of the deified emperor at a temple served by a *flamen*.

Roman and non-Roman

The regulations laid down by Octavian in the winter of 30–29 B.C. marked a sharp distinction between Roman and alien. The Hellenes of Asia and Pontus-Bithynia were allowed to worship Roma and the emperor at temples to be consecrated in Pergamum and Nicomedia, whereas for resident Romans the ruling was that they should consecrate temples to Roma and Divus Iulius at Ephesus and Nicaea (CD 51, 20, 6–7; Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37; Suet., *Aug.* 52).[38] How long the distinction lasted is unclear but it was noted by L. R. Taylor, later followed by other commentators, that the line will have quickly become blurred as local Hellenes gained Roman citizenship.[39] A case in point is the increasing frequency with which Asiarchs and chairmen of other eastern assemblies came to possess Roman citizenship, not that this seems to have been an absolute requirement.[40] Already in 3 B.C. the oath taken at Gangra and other centres on the incorporation of Paphlagonia within the province of Galatia required Roman citizens to pledge loyalty to Augustus without reference to his deified father or Roma.[41] More strikingly still, when in A.D. 23 Tiberius permitted the Asians to erect a temple to himself, Livia and the Senate at Smyrna, no difference was drawn between Roman and non-Roman and no mention made of Divus Iulius, Augustus or Roma.[42] By this date at the latest the regulations devised by Octavian were evidently in abeyance.[43]

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[38] Vol. I, 1, 126 with nn. 202–3; Frei-Stolba (1988) 191, with n. 23 and refs.; see further above, p. 1. The cults of Roma and Octavian—in practice Augustus—were *permitted* in response to the request of the provincial assemblies of Asia and Pontus-Bithynia, so plainly provincial cults that catered to the local inhabitants. The parallel cults of Roma and Divus Iulius which Octavian *instructed* Roman citizens to pay at Ephesus and Nicaea appear as a sort of provincial cult designed for resident Romans in the sense that they accommodated Roman citizens of the whole province. There is no trace of a similar arrangement at any time anywhere else in the empire whether east or west. The standard distinction is between provincial and municipal cults: that is, cults established by individual communities for their own worship of the emperor. Cf. Beard–North–Price 1, 349, noting that, in addition to the sanctuary serving all Roman citizens of the province of Asia, Ephesus had its own Greek-style cults of Augustus.

[39] Fishwick (1978) 1206, n. 16 with refs.

[40] Larsen (1955) 125 with n. 46. On the priests and priestesses of Asia see in general Hertz (1992) 93–115.

The important issue for present purposes is whether any differentiation on similar lines was operative in the western empire. Here it can be affirmed at the outset that there is no trace whatsoever in the west of a temple to Roma and Divus Iulius at which Roman citizens might worship in the way Octavian had prescribed in the east. Nor, with a single improbable exception at Arlete, does any vestige survive of a cult of Roma and Divus Iulius.[44] The question nevertheless arises whether Roman citizens offered or were expected to offer different forms of cult from that offered by the subjects of Rome. That this was the case has been argued in a recent survey of the religions of Rome, in which it is claimed that resident Roman citizens followed the cult forms of the capital both in their own private associations and in *coloniae* par excellence. More to the point for present purposes, "provinces in the west with a significant proportion of Roman citizens followed in general the model of Rome itself".[45]

Associations of Roman citizens are well known in the western provinces even if the evidence is limited and thinly scattered; the standard survey of such *conventus* is that of Kornemann, who collects the evidence available at the time.[46] An immediate problem with supposing a distinction between Roman and alien is presented by the composition of these groups. Octavian's original regulation clearly differentiated between Roman settlers and the native population. The difficulty in applying the same criteria in the west is that in some cases at least comparable "clubs" included natives who had been given Roman citizenship. One finds, for example, groups of Roman citizens under curators whose names indicate they are indigenous inhabitants of the province, not Roman immigrants.[47] This mixed background plainly confuses the supposed distinction between Roman and non-Roman. Support for the distinctive cult purportedly required of Roman residents has nevertheless been sought in evidence from the Greek-speaking towns of Cyrene and Ptolemais, where inscriptions record vows made for the emperor's *salus* not merely in Latin but more importantly in exactly the same cult language as that used by the Arvals in Rome:[48] these texts, it is suggested, may reflect an attempt on the part of Roman settlers to express their solidarity with Rome. Yet nothing positive in the records associates them specifically with associations of resident Roman citizens and, as W. Eck has recently argued, they might equally well relate to an official function performed by the provincial governor of Cyrenaica on the lines of what Pliny relates in Bithynia (*Ep.* 10, 35[44]; 36 [45]; cf. 100 [101]; 101 [102]).[49] In that case the cultic language could well be the official phraseology prescribed centrally by Rome for the taking of vows empire-wide (above, p. 216), so by no means a spontaneous attempt by resident Romans to put on record their allegiance to Rome.

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[41] Vol. I, 1, 130 with n. 233.

[42] Friessen (1993) 15–21.

[43] Mellor (1981) 977; Frei-Stolba (1988) 191, n. 22.

[44] Vol. I, 1, 130 with n. 234, citing *AE* (1954) 104: ... *flamini Romae et* [*Divi*] *Caes(aris).* Comparison with *CIL* 5, 18 (Pola); 10, 6305 (Tarracina), for example, suggests the likelier restoration ... *Romae et* [*Aug(usti)*] *Caes(aris).*

[45] Beard-North-Price (1998) 1, 348–63, especially 349, 353–5.

[46] *Id.*, *RE* 4, 1 (1900) 1173–200. See further Vol. III, 2, 275, n. 4.

This conclusion looks strongly supported by a similar record at Sarmizegetusa, which likewise records the taking of vows in very much the same language as used by the Arvals.[50] In this instance, however, a reference to Mars Gradivus, who does not appear in the the Arval formulae for *vota annua* or *vota pro salute / valetudine*, points to *vota extraordinaria*, perhaps on the occasion of some campaign (*gradivus*) connected with the defence of the capital of Dacia, so it has been suggested that the *vota* could have been taken by the *concilium III Daciarum* rather than the provincial governor.[51] Whatever the original context, it is clear that this text cannot be attributed to a group of settlers who have spontaneously adopted cult language in use at Rome in order to express their allegiance to the occupying power. From the fact that similar language was used at three locations in two different provinces it would appear that this was rather the proper form of oath-taking prescribed by the central authority and approved for appropriate occasions. At the very least it follows that texts of this nature do not support the view that Roman citizens resident in a province paid a different form of cult to that paid by the indigenous natives—nor that cults of the Roman type were expected of citizens in contrast to what was expected of the subjects of Rome. It might be added that an inscription at Thinissut records a dedication *Augusto deo* by *cives Romani qui Thinissut negotiantur curatore L. Fabricio* (*ILS* 9495). If this is a direct dedication "to Augustus god",[52] this group of Roman citizens at least was acting directly opposite to practice in Rome.

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[47] Maurin (1986) 119, n. 52, noting that *conventus* of Roman citizens can even be directed by freedmen. See further Etienne (1993) 173.

[48] Reynolds (1962); (1965).

[49] Eck (1993) 154–5.

[50] Marghitan–Petolescu (1974); (1976).

[51] For detailed argument with reference to the evidence of Pliny in combination with *CIL* 3, 7902 see Marghitan–Petolescu (1976) 86. Eck (1993) 154, would rather connect the Sarmizegetusa fragment with the religious activity of the provincial governor.

Of particular interest in this connection is a record at the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum attesting a goup of [*c*]*ives Romani in Tri*[*b*]*us Provinci(i)s Galli(i)s* [*c*]*onsistentes* (*ILTG* 221: A.D. 220/1).[53] The base of a statue they have publicly raised to Elagabalus refers to *curatores*—one for each of the three provinces—who administered a common fund, so it is clear that these Roman citizens formed an independent association, separate from though in no way comparable to the great *concilium* of Tres Galliae. The members of the latter assembly represented some sixty-four tribes and may have included somewhere between one and three hundred *legati* as an unknown number of *civitates* contributed more than one delegate.[54] What form of cult the *conventus* of Roman citizens paid is unknown as we have no evidence to go on beyond the inscribed base, but it has been suggested that their religious activity may have been modelled on that which Octavian prescribed two and a half centuries earlier for Roman citizens in the provinces of Asia and Pontus-Bithynia.[55] With no firm evidence anywhere in the west for the cult of Roma and Divus Iulius the inference looks implausible and would in any event conflict with the regulation formulated in the east, whereby Roman citizens were instructed to set up precincts for the cult of Roma and Divus Iulius *separately* from the provincial centre, not at the same sanctuary as here.

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[52] So Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 336. For the view that the dedication is rather "to the Augustan god" see Vol. II, 1, 452–3; c.f. Witschel, Kaiserbildnisse (1995) 366, n. 71, noting that *deus* is not used of the living emperor in the Latin west.

[53] For discussion see Chastagnol (1980) 195 with n. 18 and refs.; Maurin (1986) 119; Frei-Stolba (1988) 189; Fishwick, Priesthood (1996) 419. These observations are overlooked by Beard–North–Price, *o.c.* 353, n. 116, asserting that *ILTG* 221 has been curiously ignored in recent years.

[54] See Vol. III, 2, 55–9.

[55] Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354. Cf. Frei-Stolba (1988) 189.

It should further be stressed that there is no question at Lugdunum of a distinction between Roman and non-Roman. The *concilium* of Tres Galliae was composed of *legati*, of whom we know very little,[56] but most if not all of these must sooner rather than later have possessed Roman citizenship[57] since one of its members was elected each year to the high priesthood. For appointment to this office, however, Roman citizenship was a prerequisite. The very first provincial priest of whom we hear, C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus, federal *sacerdos* at the sanctuary by the Confluence (Livy, *Per.* 139), was a Roman citizen, all priests of the Three Gauls have the *tria nomina*, and with two apparent exceptions the more than two hundred provincial priests now known in the Latin west were likewise Roman citizens,[58] a precondition assumed in the Flavian Lex Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 17–21).[59] It seems impossible in that case to think that the *civitates* would have sent delegates to the *concilium* who were ineligible for the high priesthood. This consideration aside, almost all free members of the empire will have been Roman citizens from A.D. 212,[60] eight years or so before the statue was dedicated to Elagabalus. The distinguishing feature of the *conventus* of Roman citizens is rather that these are in all probability immigrant settlers, as the term *consistentes* shows,[61] in which event the differentiation at Lugdunum is between immigrant Roman and native Roman citizens. As for the cult the *cives Romani* might have offered, there seems no reason to doubt that, like the federal worship of the Gallic *civitates*, this will have centred on Roma and Augustus as often enough in Roman *coloniae*.

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[56] Deininger (1965) 142–3. The only *legatus* whose name is preserved is T. Sennius Solemnis of *ca.* A.D. 220 (*CIL* 13, 3162: 3, lines 22–3). See the commentary of Pflaum (1948).

[57] Deininger (1965) 151. On the extension of *ius Latii* to the Three Gauls see the convenient summary of Burnand (1996) 30, noting Jullian's observation that all magistrates known after the reign of Claudius enjoyed Roman citizenship. A general extension of Latin rights under Claudius rather than the Flavians looks the likelier hypothesis, therefore. Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 353 state that both non-Romans and Roman citizens could and did participate in the provincial council of the Three Gauls. This is barely conceivable in the initial years of the assembly, not thereafter.

[58] Vol. III, 2, 295–6.

[59] Larsen (1955) 137–8; Williamson (1987) 187. See in general Frei-Stolba (1994) 39–54. For a list of priests of Tres Galliae see Vol. III, 2, 60–8.

[60] So rightly Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354.

[61] Maurin (1986) 119 with n. 51, citing a text at Celeia dated under Antoninus Pius: *cives Romani [e]x Italia et aliis provinciis in Raetia consistentes* (*CIL* 3, 5212= *ILS* 1362a). Cf. Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354. The distinct status of these Roman citizens at the

At the civic level, the argument continues, colonies followed the Roman model in instituting cults of Divus Iulius and the imperial *numen*: the status of the community determined the fact that different forms of cult were offered by Roman inhabitants than by native subjects of Rome.[62] In the western provinces at any rate this view can draw on meagre evidence in support. There is a priest of Divus Iulius at the colonies of Rusicade *ca.* A.D. 70–100 (*CIL* 8, 7986) and Troas (*CIL* 3, 386), also a very uncertain example at the *municipium* of Terventum (*CIL* 9, 2598), but such traces, to all appearances the only attested instances in the entire Latin west, are too isolated to suggest a definite pattern.[63] The early cult of the *numen*, which the authors see as instructive, is also very sparsely attested before it quickly drops out of sight.[64] The well-known altars at Forum Clodii (*CIL* 11, 3303: A.D. 18), Narbo Martius (*CIL* 12, 4333: A.D. 12) and Tarraco (*RIT* 48) as well as a dedication at Lepcis Magna (*IRT* 324a: A.D. 11/12) occur in colonies as do records at Pompeii (*CIL* 4, 3882) and Gortyn (*ILS* 158), yet traces at Ipagrum in Baetica (*CIL* 2, 1516) and in the territory of the Bigerriones in Aquitania (*CIL* 13, 389) confirm that worship of the *numen* was by no means specific to colonies.[65] As for the cult of the Lares Augusti, this quickly became widespread in Italy and in most western provinces, where it was by no means confined to colonies.[66] In any event the Flavian municipal law, prescribing a centrally controlled calendar of festivals for local observance, was issued to hundreds of centres, presumably

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Lugdunum sanctuary is clearly related to the larger question of whether the colonies of Lyon, Nyon and Augst participated in the federal worship. For discussion see, Vol. III, 2, 56–7. For *c. R. consistentes Carnunti* ... see recently Piso (1997).

[62] Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354–5.

[63] Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354, cite no evidence beyond the statement in Dio 51, 20, 6.

[64] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 354–5, apparently taking the early cult of the *numen* to be restricted to Forum Iulii and Narbo Martius, though they note the dedication to the *numen* of Augustus at Lepcis.

[65] On the early cult of the *numen* see Fishwick, *Numinibus* (1994) 138. The statement *ad AE* (1994) 79, that there is no known example of a single *numen* of several *Augusti* is erroneous: see Fishwick, *o.c.* 140 with n. 64. For the extraordinary view that it is unwise to suppose that such an expression as *numinibus Aug.* can have a single clear meaning see Gordon *et al.* (1997) 229 with n. 276, asking how *numinibus Aug(ustorum)* differs from *numini Aug(ustorum)* (the ref. in n. 277 is wrong). The obvious answer is that there is no essential difference whether *numen* is attributed collectively or distributively. The point at issue is that plural *numina* cannot be attributed to a single, living Augustus, only to multiple living Augusti or to the combined living emperor(s) with the deified dead.

[66] Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 355. On the origins of the cult see Vol. I, 1, 84–5 with nn. 12–13.

coloniae as well as *municipia*,[67] in Baetica, Hither Spain and as far afield apparently as Lauriacum in Noricum (above, p. 97, n. 10).[68] It seems clear, then, that at least by the latter part of the first century no distinction was made in the range of rituals expected of both citizens and non-citizens in Spain and no doubt elsewhere.

It remains to add that, if Roman colonies strictly observed the forms of cult practiced at Rome, in no instance will the civic *flamen* or *sacerdos*—both forms occur[69]—have paid direct cult to the living emperor. Three obvious examples will suffice to show that this was far from the case. At *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum* the early title of the municipal priest is *Augusti Caesaris sacerdos*, *Augusti sacerdos*, *flamen Aug(usti)* or *flamen Caesaris Augusti*; after the death of Augustus we have a *sacerdos Divi Augusti*, later *flamines* of Claudius and Nero. So clearly the municipal cult of Pompeii included living members of the *domus imperatoria* even when deified members accumulated.[70] At *Colonia Iulia Pola Pollentia Herculanea* the architrave of the civic temple is inscribed *Romae et Augusto Caesari Divi f. Patri Patriae* (*CIL* 5, 18: 2 B.C–A.D. 14), a formula clearly appropriate to the cult of Roma and Augustus.[71] Most telling of all, the Roman colony of Tarraco, *colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco*, set up its famous altar in the lower forum very possibly in honour of Augustus' sojourn there in 26–25 B.C.[72] That this was intended for the cult of the living emperor is confirmed by Augustus' tart reply when the Tarraconians announced that a palm had miraculously sprouted on the altar: *apparet ... quam saepe accendatis* (Quint., *De Inst. Orat.* 6, 3, 7). As inscriptions show that Roma was also included in the municipal cult,[73] it is clear that at the colony of Tarraco as at the colony of Pola the civic cult did in fact follow the form of worship Octavian had prescribed for non-

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[67] So Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 356 with n. 124. For mention of *coloni* in the sense of members of a *colonia* see *AE* (1986) 333, p. 143 *ad* para. 79, line 44.

[68] See in particular Gonzalez (1986) 241–3 (Appendix 2 by M. H. Crawford) with the useful summary of Curchin (1990) 14–16.

[69] In Belgica and the Germanies, for example, both *sacerdos* and *flamen* occur at colonies, though *flamen* looks the commoner form: Liertz (1998) 213–15.

[70] Vol. I, 1, 166, n. 109; Fishwick, Mamia (1995) 37–8. Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 349, n. 102, state that public cults in Italy in some cases followed the model of towns in the provinces, rather than the Roman model. If so, this would conflict with their claim that, in the early empire at least, provincial *coloniae* followed the cult forms of the capital (354).

[71] On the temple see at Pola see Fischer (1996) 79–86.

[72] Fishwick, Altar (1982); *id.*, Tarraco (1996) 165.

[73] Fishwick, Altar (1982) 228–9 with references.

Roman provincials in the Greek east. The same looks to be equally true of Ostia, Ulubrae, Arles, Vienne, Augst, probably also of Lyon.[74] This list takes no account of colonies such as Carthage, where the municipal cult was directed to the living emperor alone and priests of individul *divi* gradually accrued in addition[75] or, say, the very Roman centre of Emerita, where not only did the municipal cult focus on the living emperor but the colonial temple seems to have been already under construction under Augustus.[76] Quite clearly, therefore, the thesis that "*coloniae*, at least in the early empire, were expected (and perhaps even instructed) to follow the lead of Rome"[77] is unfounded and no distinction based on the status of the community is observable in the municipal worship of the Latin west.

Lastly, the claim that provinces in the west with significant numbers of Roman citizens followed in general the model of Rome[78]. The only provinces of which this could be true are pre-Flavian Hispania citerior and Lusitania. In Hither Spain the request of the Spaniards to establish a provincial temple at Tarraco came at a moment when the cult of Divus Augustus had barely begun in the capital itself and had yet to take root anywhere in the provinces. When permission was given to establish a temple of Divus Augustus, Tacitus remarks *datumque in omnes provincias exemplum* (*Ann.* 1, 78). If the example was the establishment of a temple to Divus Augustus,[79] it seems clear that in Tacitus' view at least the model applied to all provinces, not just those in which Roman citizens were relatively plentiful. Regrettably there survives no epigraphical evidence in Hispania citerior to confirm the reasonable assumption that its provincial cult initially focussed on Divus Augustus but several texts attest that this was the case in Lusitania (above, pp. 53–9). We have seen that a provincial temple of Lusitania, similar to that in Hither Spain to judge from its image on coins, was built by the provincials, conceivably of their own accord, in line with the permission give the neighbouring province (above, p. 60), and that the cult of Divus Augustus was later joined by that of Diva Augusta (Livia), perhaps also Divus Claudius (above, pp. 59–60). All of this closely followed the model of Rome, yet the circumstance that one of the earliest priests of the province, Albinus son of Albuus (*AE*, 1997, 777b), was apparently not a Roman citizen[80] and originated from an outlying part of the province raises the pertinent question of whether at this early stage in the development of the provincial cult Roman citizens were numerous enough to dictate adherence to the Roman model. In point of fact both towns of Roman status and Roman citizens look to have been relatively small in number before the introduction of Latin rights into Lusitania.[81] In any event the living emperor was included in both provinces from the reign of Vespasian, a notable divergence from standard practice in Rome, while in Baetica the provincial cult included living and deified *Augusti* from its inception under Vespasian. With this development, therefore, the Spains no longer followed the practice of Rome. The same point applies to other Romanized provinces, Gallia Narbonensis and Africa Proconsularis in particular,[82] apparently also Sardinia, the Mauretaniae and the Alpine provinces (above, pp. 224–6). Elsewhere, of course, the living emperor was included in the provincial cult *ab initio*, as in Tres Galliae, possibly Britannia, certainly all the provinces of the Danube region.

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[74] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 131, 140, 242, 244; Liertz (1998) 31; Le Glay (1978) 31 *ad CIL* 13, 1927; Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 212.

[75] For the evidence at Carthage see Bassignano (1974) 109–22; Rives (1995) 57–9.

[76] Trillmich (1990) 305–9; Barrera (2000) 181–8.

[77] Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354. A glance through the relevant indices of *CIL* reveals that in the western provinces the civic cults of *coloniae* were served by a *flamen* or *sacerdos* who tended the worship of the living emperor alone, the living emperor with Roma, or the combined living and deified emperors (occasionally with Roma). The thesis of the authors is patently based on Dio's statement in regard to eastern provinces (51, 20, 7) and pays minimal attention to the epigraphical sources.

[78] Beard–North–Price (1998) *ibid.* The generalization (*o.c.* 357) that in less Romanized provinces there were no Roman-style *flamines* or temples to the officially deified emperor, but priests styled *sacerdotes* and altars for the worship of the living emperor patently requires modification. In Britannia, where Tacitus speaks of *sacerdotes* (*Ann.* 14, 31), there is the provincial temple of Divus Claudius, while in Tres Galliae a temple consistent with the recent inclusion of the *divi* in the federal cult was built at Lugdunum, apparently under Hadrian (above, p. 209). Here, it might be added, federal priests are styled *sacerdotes* not *flamines*, as stated by Beard–North–Price, *o.c.* 357, n. 128.

[79] If the example was given to all the Spains, it was quickly followed in Lusitania, conspicuously not in Baetica (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 15, 55–6). If the example was the sending of

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an embassy, it was apparently followed only in Baetica—or at least there is no record of an embassy from Lusitania or any other western province.

[80] Full discussion Vol. III, 2, 145–7.

[81] Edmondson (1997) 101, citing Kraschenninikoff (1894) 177; Galsterer (1971): see especially 7–36, 68–9.

[82] Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354, suggest that these modifications may reflect the influence of other civic communities in the west (presumably those not composed predominantly of Roman citizens), but this possibility is clearly beside the point if the civic cult of numerous Roman colonies already diverged from the practice of the centre. In any event the content of the worship was surely determined by the central authority, which was reponsible for instituting or modifying these provincial cults. See above, pp. 213–19.

To sum up, as regards provinces with a significant proportion of Roman citizens it is a misconception to argue that "by and large, the range of religious honours offered to the emperor in these western provincial assemblies seems to have followed the pattern set in the centre".[83] In the first place no religious honours were offered in the *concilia* themselves. Assemblies met to conduct business on behalf of their constituents, in the first place the election of a high priest whose responsibility it was to offer cult on behalf of the province. In all parts of the western empire that cult was then paid at the provincial altar or temple, not in the *curia* of the provincial assembly. More pertinently, western provincial cults in every province except pre-Flavian Hispania citerior and Lusitania included the living emperor at all times, a form of worship in direct contrast to the practice of the centre.[84] It follows that with rare, short-lived exceptions none of these provinces can be said to have largely followed the Roman model. At the provincial as at every other level the notion that there was a distinction between the cult offered by Roman citizens and the subjects of Rome is flatly contradicted by the primary evidence.

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[83] Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 354.

[84] Noted by Beard–North–Price (1998) *ibid.*

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